



*W. H. W. Sculpsit.*

*Vera Effigies  
Patris ROBERTI  
Lincolniensis*



*Reverendi  
SANDERSON  
Episcopi, Et. 76*



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1786

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
Dr. SANDERSON,  
LATE  
Bishop of *Lincoln.*

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Written by IZAAK WALTON.

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To which is added,  
Some short Tracts or Cases of  
Conscience, written by the  
said Bishop.

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ECCLES. 3.  
*Mysteries are revealed to the meek.*

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LONDON,  
Printed for Richard Marriott. 1678.

THE

LIFE

OF

THE

Bishop of Lincoln

WILLIAM OF LINCOLN

BY

JOHN H. BISHOP

CONSIDERED, WITH A

VIEW OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

AND

THE



TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND,  
AND  
HONOURABLE,

GEORGE

*Lord Bishop of Winchester,*

*PRELATE* of the *GARTER*,

And one of His

Majesties Privy Council.

My Lord,



*F I should under-  
take to enumerate  
the many favours  
and advantages I have had*

*A 3*

*by*

## The Epistle

by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an Employment, that might prove as tedious, as the Collecting of the Materials for this poor Monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the Memory of your beloved Friend Dr. Sanderfon: But though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond,

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## Dedictory.

monet, men, whose Merits  
ought never to be forgot-  
ten.

My Friendship with  
the first was begun almost  
Forty years past, when I  
was as far from a thought,  
as a desire to out-live him;  
and farther from an inten-  
tion to write his life: But  
the wise Disposer of all  
mens lives and actions hath  
prolong'd the first, and  
now permitted the last;  
which is here dedicated to  
your Lordship (and as it  
ought to be) with all hu-  
mility,

A 4

## The Epistle, &c.

*mility, and a desire that it  
may remain as a publick  
Testimony of my Grati-  
tude;*

**My Lord,**

Your most affectionate

Old Friend, and most

humble Servant,

**Isaak Walton**



THE  
PREFACE.

I Dare neither think, nor assure the Reader, that I have committed no Mistakes in this Relation of the Life of *Dr. Sanderfon*; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful, or very material. I confess, it was worthy the imployment of some person of more Learning and greater Abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondred that

### *The Preface.*

that none have yet been so grateful to him and Posterity, as to undertake it. For it may be noted, That our Saviour hath had such care, that for *Mary Magdalens* kindness to him, her Name should never be forgotten: And doubtless, *Dr. Sanderson's* meek and innocent Life, his great and useful Learning, might therefore challenge the like indeavours to preserve his Memory: And 'tis to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuse my self, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This

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This being premis'd, I desire to tell the Reader, that in this Relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and, if I have err'd in this kind, and cannot now beg pardon of him that lov'd me; yet I do of my Reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And, though my Age might have procur'd me a Writ of Ease, and that secur'd me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such perswasions to begin, and so many willing Informers since, and from them  
and

*The Preface.*

and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found my self faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden my self, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and presented to the Reader, and with it this desire; That he will take notice, that Dr. *Sanderson* did in his Will or last Sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because *that might be said to be his, which indeed was not;* and also for that *he might have chang'd his opinion since he first writ it.* And though these Reasons ought to be

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be regarded, yet regarded so, as  
he resolves in that Case of Con-  
science concerning *rash Vows*,  
that there may appear very good  
second Reasons, why we may  
forbear to perform them. How-  
ever, for his said Reasons, they  
ought to be read as we do *Apo-  
criphal Scripture*; to explain, but  
not oblige us to so firm a belief  
of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more,  
That as in my *Queries* for writ-  
ting *Dr. Sanderson's Life*, I met  
with these little Tracts annex'd  
in my former *Queries* for my In-  
formation to write the Life of  
*venerable Mr. Hooker*, I met with  
a Sermon, which I also believe was  
really

## *The Preface.*

really his, and here presented as his to the Reader. It is affirm'd (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some Artists, that do certainly know an *Original* Picture from a *Copy*; and in what Age of the World, and by whom drawn: And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all Readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderfon.

And

## *The Preface.*

And lastly, I am now glad that have collected these Memoirs, which lay scatter'd, and contracted them into a narrower compass ; and, if I have by the pleasant toyl of doing so, either pleas'd or profited any man, I have attain'd what I design'd when I first undertook it : But I seriously wish, both for the Readers, and Dr. *Sanderſon's* ſake, that Poſterity had known his great Learning and Vertue by a better Pen ; by ſuch a Pen, as could have made his Life as immortal as his Learning and Merits ought to be.

*I. W.*

And lastly, and now glad that  
have collected these Memoirs,  
which lay scatter'd, and con-  
verted them into a narrow  
compass; and, if I have by the  
pleasure of God, either  
*May the 7th. 1678.*

**I** Et the Life of Dr. *Sanderson*,  
late Bishop of *Lincoln*, with  
the Letters and Tracts at the end  
thereof, and Mr. *Hooker's* Sermon,  
be printed.

**WILL. JANE**, Chaplain  
to the Right Reverend  
Father in God, *Henry* Lord  
Bishop of *London*.



THE  
LIFE  
OF

*Dr. Robert Sanderson,*

LATE

Lord Bishop of *Lincoln.*

**D**Octor *Robert Sanderson,*  
the late learned Bishop  
of *Lincoln,* whose Life  
I intend to write with all truth  
a and

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and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of *September*, in the year of our Redemption 1587. The place of his birth was *Rotheram* in the County of *York*; a Town of good note, and the more for that *Thomas Rotheram*, sometime *Archbishop* of that Sea was born in it; a man, whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life, have made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth place of our *Robert Sanderson*. And the Reader will be of my belief, if this humble Relation of his Life can hold any proportion with his great Piety, his useful Learning, and

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and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest Son of *Robert Sanderson* of *Gilibwait-hall* in the said Parish and County, Esq; by *Elizabeth* one of the Daughters of *Richard Carr* of *Buterthwate-hall*, in the Parish of *Ecclesfield* in the said County of *York*, Gentleman.

This *Robert Sanderson* the Father, was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable Family of his own Name: for the search of which truth, I refer my Reader, that inclines to it, to *Dr. Thoriton's History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, and other Records; not think-

ing it necessary here to ingage him into a search for bare Titles, which are not'd to have in them nothing of reality : For Titles not acquir'd, but deriv'd only, do but shew us who of our Ancestors have, and how they have atchiev'd that honour which their Descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those Titles descend to persons that degenerate into Vice, and break off the continued line of Learning, or Valour, or that Vertue that acquir'd them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that Honour was built ; and all the Rubbish of their Vices ought  
to

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to fall heavy on such dishonourable Heads ; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their Titles, and blast their Memories with reproach and shame.

But our *Robert Sanderson* lived worthy of his Name and Family : Of which one testimony may be, That *Gilbert*, call'd the Great Earl of *Shrewsbury*, thought him not unworthy to be joyn'd with him as a God-father to *Gilbert Sheldon*, the late Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* ; to whose Merits and Memory Posterity (the Clergy especially ) ought to pay a Reverence.

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But I return to my intended Relation of *Robert* the Son, who began in his Youth to make the Laws of God, and Obedience to his Parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself, and all his Studies, to Piety and Vertue.

And, as he was inclin'd to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endow'd his : So this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind ( his being mild, and averse to oppositions ) made the whole course of his life easie and grateful both to himself and others : And this blessed temper, was maintain'd  
and

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and improv'd by his prudent Fathers good Example, and by frequent conversing with him; and scattering short Apothegms and little pleasant Stories, and making useful applications of them, his Son was in his Infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as Monsters, and to discern the loveliness of Wisdom and Vertue; and by these means, and God's concurring Grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirm'd, that all became so habitual, as 'twas not easie to determine whether Nature or Education were his Teachers.

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And here let me tell the Reader, That these early beginnings of Vertue were by God's *assisting grace* blest with what St. Paul seem'd to beg for his *Philippians*, namely, *That he that had begun a good work in them, would finish it.* And Almighty God did : For his whole life was so regular and innocent , that he might have said at his death ( and with truth and comfort ) what the same St. Paul said after to the same *Philippians* , when he advis'd them to *walk as they had him for an Example.*

Phil. 1.6.

chap. 3.17.

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seem'd to increase as his years did ; and with his  
goodness

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goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the Grammer School of *Rotheram* (that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endow'd by the said great and good Bishop of that Name.) And in this time of his being a Scholar there, he was observ'd to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that the Master and whole number of Scholars lov'd him, as one man.

And

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And in this love and amity he continued at that School till about the thirteenth year of his age ; at which time his Father design'd to improve his Grammar learning, by removing him from *Rotheram* to one of the more noted Schools of *Eaton* or *Westminster* : and after a years stay there, then to remove him thence to *Oxford*. But, as he went with him , he call'd on an old Friend, a Minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions ; and he, after many questions with his Son, receiv'd such Answers from him, that he assur'd his Father, his Son was so perfect a Grammarian, that  
he

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he had laid a good foundation to build any, or all the Arts upon ; and therefore advis'd him to shorten his journey, and leave him at *Oxford*. And his Father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. *Kilbie*, who was then Rector of *Lincoln Colledge* : And he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that Colledge, and after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the first of *July* 1603. but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of *May* 1606. at which time he had taken his Degree of Bachelor

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lor of Arts; at the taking of which Degree, his Tutor told the Rector, *That his Pupil Sander-son had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought he had improv'd, or made the last so by an Art of his own invention.* And all the future imployments of his life prov'd that his Tutor was not mistaken. I must here stop my Reader, and tell him, that this Dr. *Kilbie* was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a Critick in the *Hebrew Tongue*, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King *James* appointed to be  
one

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one of the Translators of the Bible : And that this Doctor and Mr. *Sanderson* had frequent Discourses, and lov'd as Father and Son. The Doctor was to ride a Journey into *Darbyshire*, and took Mr. *Sanderson* to bear him company : and they going together on a *Sunday* with the Doctor's Friend to that Parish Church where they then were, found the young Preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his Sermon in exceptions against the late Translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. *Kilbie*) and shew'd three Reasons why

why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the Preacher was invited to the Doctor's Friends house; where, after some other Conference, the Doctor told him, *He might have preach'd more useful Doctrine, and not fill'd his Auditors ears with needless Exceptions against the late Translation; and for that word, for which he offered to that poor Congregation three Reasons, why it ought to have been translated, as he said; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable Reasons, why it was translated as now printed: and told him, If his*  
*Friend,*

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

*Friend*, then attending him, *should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour.* To which Mr. Sanderson said, *He hop'd he should not.* And the Preacher was so ingenious as to say, *He would not justify himself.* And so I return to Oxford. In the year 1608. (*July the 11th.*) Mr. Sanderson was compleated Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these Dignities, the time was shorter than was then, or is now required; but either his birth, or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the Reader is requested to believe

lieve that 'twas the last ; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the Colledge Records have mis-informed me : But I hope they have not.

- In that year of 1608. he was (*November the 7th.*) by his Colledge chosen Reader of Logick in the House, which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the *sixth* of *November*, 1609. In the year 1613. he was chosen Sub-rector of the Colledge, and the like for the year 1614. and chose again to the same Dignity and Trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and imployments, his abilities and behaviour

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haviour were such, as procur'd him both love and reverence from the whole Society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they prov'd so like the *Radical moisture* in man's body, that they preserv'd the life of Vertue in his Soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so  
b call'd)

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call'd ) more hereafter.

In the year 1614. he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the Univerſity. And 'twas not to ſatisſie any ambition of his own, but to comply with the deſire of the Rector and whole Society, of which he was a Member ; who had not had a Proctor choſen out of their Colledge for the ſpace of ſixty years (namely, not from the year 1554. unto his ſtanding;) and they perſwaded him, that if he would but ſtand for *Proctor*, his merits were ſo generally known, and he ſo well beloved, that 'twas but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it againſt any  
Op-

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Opposers; and told him, *That* he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his Colledge. By these and other like perswasions he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appear'd to stand for *Proffor*. But that Election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a Faction, that he mist it. Which when he understood, he profess'd seriously to his Friends, *That* if he were troubled at the disappointment, 'twas for theirs, and not for his own sake: For he was far from any desire of such an Employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually re-

b 2      warded

warded with hard censures, or batted, or both.

In the year following he was earnestly perswaded by Dr. *Kilbie* and others, to renew the *Logick Lectures* which he had read some years past in his Colledge: and that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and publick good of Posterity. But though he had an aversness to appear publickly in print; yet after many serious sollicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the Book prov'd, as his Friends seem'd to prophecy, that

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that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the Art or the Author. For Logick may be said to be an *Art of right reasoning*: an Art that undeceives men who take falshood for truth; enables men to pass a true Judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some mens Understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a Master our Author was in this Art, will quickly appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other Writings. He who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best quali-

fied to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first publick Undertaking, by hearing that most Tutors in both Universities teach Dr. *Sanderfon's* Logick to their Pupils, as a Foundation upon which they are to build their future Studies in Philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the Reader may note, That since his Book of Logick was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: And that 'tis like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm

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confirm the reason of the unborn  
World.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctors place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averfness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was assured by Dr. *Kilbie*, and the Fellows of his own Colledge, and most of those that had oppos'd him in the former Election, that his Book of Logick had purchas'd for him such a belief of his Learning and Prudence, and his behaviour at the former Election had

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got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former Opposers repented what they had done; and therefore perswaded him to venture to stand a second time. And upon these and other like encouragements, he did again, but not without an inward unwillingness, yield up his own reason to theirs, and promis'd to stand. And he did so; and was the tenth of *April*, 1616. chosen Senior Proctor for the year following, Mr. *Charles Crooke* of *Christ-Church* being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr.

*Robert*

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*Robert Abbot*, Master of *Balial Colledge*, and *Regius* Professor of Divinity (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of *Sarum* some months before) was solemnly conducted out of *Oxford* towards his Diocese, by the Heads of all Houses, and the chief of all the University. And *Dr. Pridiaux* succeeded him in the Professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642. (being then elected Bishop of *Worcester*) and then our now Proctor *Mr. Sanderson* succeeded him in the *Regius* Professorship.

And in this year *Dr. Arthur Lake* (then Warden of *New Colledge*) was advanced to the Bishop-

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Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells* :  
A man of whom I take my self  
bound in Justice to say, That he  
made the great trust committed  
to him, the chief care and whole  
business of his life. And one  
testimony of this truth may be,  
That he sate usually with his  
Chancellor in his Consistory,  
and at least advis'd, if not assist-  
ed in most sentences for the pu-  
nishing of such Offenders as de-  
served Church Censures. And  
it may be noted , That after a  
Sentence for Penance was pro-  
nounced, he did very warily or  
never allow of any *Commutation*  
for the Offence, but did usually  
see the Sentence for Penance  
execu-

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executed ; and then as usually preach'd a Sermon of Mortification and Repentance, and so apply them to the Offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives ; and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing, and perswasions to a vertuous life, and beg them to believe him : And his Humility, and Charity, and other Christian Excellencies were all like this. Of all which the Reader may inform himself in his Life, truly  
writ

writ and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord *Elsmere*, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of *England*, and then of *Oxford*, resigning up the last, the right Honourable, and as magnificent, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, was chose to succeed him.

And in this year our late King *Charles* the First ( then Prince of *Wales*) came honourably attended to *Oxford*; and having deliberately visited the University, the Schools, Colledges, and Libraries, He and his Attendants were entertained with Ceremonies

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**Ceremonies and Feasting futable  
to their Dignity and Merits.**

And this year King *James*  
sent Letters to the University for  
the regulating their Studies; espe-  
cially of the young Divines :  
Advising they should not rely  
on modern Sums and Systemes,  
but study the Fathers and Coun-  
cils , and the more Primitive  
Learning. And this advice was  
occasioned by the indiscreet in-  
ferences made by very many  
Preachers out of Mr. *Calvin's*  
Doctrine concerning *Predestina-*  
*tion, Universal Redemption, the*  
*Irresistibility of God's Grace* , and  
of some other knotty Points  
depending upon these ; Points  
which

which many think were not, but by Interpreters forc'd to be Mr. *Calvin's* meaning ; of the truth or falshood of which, I pretend not to have an ability to judge ; my meaning in this Relation being only to acquaint the Reader with the occasion of the King's Letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to relate and discourse upon : And, that though his Office seem'd, according to Statute and Custome, to require him to do so at his leaving it ; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very  
short

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short Observations, and present the Governours, and his other Hearers, with rules to keep up Discipline and Order in the University; which at that time was either by defective Statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extreemly irregular. And in this year also, the Magisterial part of the Proctor requir'd more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new Statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which Statutes werethen, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution. And though these

these Statutes were not then made so perfectly useful, as they were design'd, till Archbishop *Laud's* time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them;) yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: Of which one Example may seem worthy the noting; namely, That if in his Night-walk he met with irregular Scholars absent from their Colledges at University hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him

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him unsent for next morning:  
And when they did, convinced  
them with such obligingness, and  
reason added to it, that they part-  
ed from him with such resolutions  
as the man after God's own heart  
was possess'd with, when he said,  
*There is mercy with thee, and there-<sup>Psalm 34. 11</sup>*  
*fore thou shalt be feared.* And by  
this, and a like behaviour to all  
men, he was so happy as to lay  
down this dangerous employ-  
ment, as but very few, if any  
have done, even *without an Ene-  
my.*

After his Speech was ended,  
and he retir'd with a Friend into  
a convenient privacy; he look'd  
upon his Friend with a more  
c than

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than common chearfulness, and spake to him to this purpose. *I look back upon my late employment with some content to my self, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this Employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper, are by sudden and small occasions transported and hurried by Anger to commit such Errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid, and require repentance: And consider, that*

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that though Repentance ſecures us from the puniſhment of any ſin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And conſider, that Errors againſt men, though pardon'd both by God and them, do yet leave ſuch anxious and upbraiding impreſſions in the memory, as abates of the Offender's content: When I conſider all this, and that God bath of his goodneſſ given me a temper that bath prevented me from running into ſuch enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulneſſ. And though I cannot ſay with David (*I Pſal. 130.*) wiſh I could) that therefore his praiſe ſhall always be in my mouth; yet I hope, that by his

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grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may.

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his Proctorship, which is; That *Gilbert Sheldon*, the late Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was this year sent to *Trinity Colledge* in that University; and not long after his entrance there, a Letter was sent after him from his God-father (the Father of our Proctor) to let his Son know it, and commend his God-son to his acquaintance, and to more than a common care of his behaviour; which

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which prov'd a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his Fathers desire, that he some few days after sent his Servitor to intreat Mr. *Sheldon* to his Chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. *Sheldon* having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him cautious he had transgress'd his Statutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his Bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the Proctor's chearful countenance,

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and the freedom of their discourse of Friends. And let me tell my Reader, that this first meeting prov'd the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self ends; and it continued to be so, till death forc'd a separation of it on earth; but 'tis now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his Proctorship, I proceed to tell my Reader, that this busie imployment being ended, he preach'd his Sermon for his degree of Batchelor in Divinity, in

as

*Dr. Robert Sanderfon.*

as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preach'd in that University since that day. And having well perform'd his other Exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of *May* following, having been ordain'd Deacon and Priest in the year 1611. by *John King*, then Bishop of *London*, who had not long before been Dean of *Christ-Church*, and then knew him so well, that he became his most affectionate Friend. And in this year, being then about the 29<sup>th</sup>. of his Age, he took from the University a Licence to preach.

## *The Life of*

In the year 1618. he was by Sir *Nicholas Sanderson*, Lord Viscount *Castleton*, presented to the Rectory of *Wibberton*, not far from *Boston*, in the County of *Lincoln*, a Living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that Countrey, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good Conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, he, apprehending a danger of losing it if he continued at *Wibberton* a second Winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy Kinsman and Patron,

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

iron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the Rectory of *Boothby Pannel* in the same County of *Lincoln*; a Town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because *Dr. Sanderson*, the humble and learned *Dr. Sanderson*, was more than 40 years Parson of *Boothby Pannel*,<sup>†</sup> and from thence dated all, or most of his matchless Writings.

To this Living (which was of less value, but a purer Air than *Wibberton*) he was presented by *Thomas Harrington* of the same County and Parish, Esq; who

<sup>†</sup> See a Print of Bp. Sanderson's House at Boothby P. in the Gentle's Mag. Feb. 1801. —

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was a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of great use and esteem in his Countrey during his whole life. And in this *Boothby Pannel* the meek and charitable *Dr. Sanderfon* and his Patron liv'd with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made Parson of *Boothby Pannel*, he resign'd his Fellowship of *Lincoln Colledge* unto the then Rector and Fellows : And his resignation is recorded in these words :

*Ego Robertus Sanderfon per, &c.*

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

**I** Robert Sanderson, *Fellow of the Colledge of St. Maries and All-Saints, commonly call'd Lincoln Colledge, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and fellows, all the Right and Title that I have in the said Colledge, wishing to them and their Successors, all peace, and piety, and happineſs, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

May 6. 1619.

Robert Sanderson.

And

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And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of *Tork*, or the King, *Sede vacante*, made Prebend of the Collegiate Church of *Southwell* in that Diocese; and shortly after of *Lincoln* by the Bishop of that See.

And being now resolv'd to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at *Boothby Pannel*, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general Acquaintance left in *Oxford*, and the peculiar pleasures of a University life; he could not but think the want of Society would render this of a Countrey Parson the more uncomfortable, by reason

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

son of that want of conversation;  
and therefore he did put on some  
faint purposes to marry. For  
he had considered, that though  
marriage be cumbred with more  
worldly care than a single life;  
yet a complying and prudent  
Wife changes those very cares  
into so mutual a content, as  
makes them become like the Suf-  
ferings of St. *Paul*, which he Colos. 1.24.  
would not have wanted, because  
*they occasioned his rejoycing in them.*  
And he having well considered  
this, and observ'd the secret un-  
utterable joys that Children be-  
get in Parents, and the mutual  
pleasures and contented trouble  
of their daily care and constant  
en-

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endeavours to bring up those little Images of themselves so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them : He having considered all this ,the hopes of such happiness turn'd his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain *Anne*, the daughter of *Henry Nelson* Batchelor in Divinity, then Rector of *Haugham* in the County of *Lincoln* (a man of noted worth and learning.) And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a Wife as was futable to his own desires; a Wife, that made his life happy by being always

Dr. Robert Sanderfon,

ways content when he was chearful ; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burthen ; a Wife, that demonstrated her affection by a chearful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outliv'd him.

And in this *Boothby Pannel* he either found or made his Parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the decent and regular service of God. And thus his Parish, his Patron, and he liv'd together in a religious love, and a contented quietness. He not troubling their thoughts  
by

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by preaching high and useless notions, but such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to their salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his Doctrine, as declared they believ'd and lov'd him. For he would often say, *That without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, or are at least the less effectual; and do usually rather harden, than convince the hearer.*

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the Church Prayers,

*Dr. Robert Sanderfon.*

Prayers, Catechizing, Preaching, and administering the Sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the Law or the Canons may seem to injoyn no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective Laws of man's making, can or does injoyn; the performance of that inward Law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the Conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising what his Conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing Law-suits, both in his Parith and in  
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the Neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate Families, perswading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and chearful discourse, and by adding his own Alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advis'd by

*St. Paul, help to bear one anothers burthen, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and*

been

Gal. 6. 2.

*Dr. Robert Sanderfon.*

been helpful to a dejected or distressed Family.

And that his practice was to do good, one Example may be, That he met with a poor dejected Neighbour that complain'd he had taken a Meadow, the Rent of which was 9 *l.* a year; and when the Hay was made ready to be carried into his Barn, several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden Flood carried all away, and his rich Landlord would bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, That in this Age there are a sort of people so unlike the God

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of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concern'd, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; People that are curst with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But 'twas not so with Dr. *Sanderfon*; for he was concern'd, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his Landlord next morning, and if his Landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a Friend would pay it for him.

To

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

To the Landlord he went the next day; and in a conference, the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected Tenant; telling him how much God is pleas'd when men compassionate the poor: and told him, That though God loves Sacrifice, yet he loves Mercy so much better, that he is pleas'd when call'd *the God of mercy*. And told him, the riches he was posselt of were given him by that *God of mercy*, who would not be pleas'd, if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich Steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the*  
d 3                      utmost

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*utmost farthing.* This he told him. And told him, That the Law of this Nation (by which Law he claims his Rent) does not undertake to make men *honest* or *merciful*; but does what it can to restrain men from being *dishonest* or *unmerciful*, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any Rent from his poor Tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the Law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich Steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great Estate,

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

Estate, would, as *Job* says, *prove like gravel in his teeth*, would in time so corrode his Conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his Death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able : and therefore advis'd him, being very rich, to make Friends of his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil day come upon him : But however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any Rent of his poor dejected sad Tenant, for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons, were urg'd with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the

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Landlord forgave his Tenant the whole Rent.

The Reader will easily believe that Dr. *Sanderson*, who was himself so meek & merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected Tenant; and will believe, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoycing. 'Twas one of *Job's* boasts, *That he had seen none perish for want of clothing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoyce.* And doubtless Dr. *Sanderson* might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions. But since he did not, I rejoyce that I have this just occasion to do

*Job 31.*

*Dr. Robert Sanderson.*

do it for him ; and that I can tell the Reader , I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of *Dr. Sanderson's* life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy , doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offer'd it self; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his Diocese, and by most of the Nobility and Gentry of that County. By the first of which he was often summon'd to preach many Visitation Sermons,

mons, and by the latter at many Affizes. Which Sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procur'd and were fit to judge them ; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forc'd to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the Art of it) yet he had such an inmate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his Sermons as he had writ them, which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and expos'd to censure ( which was in the year 1632.) That *the best Sermons that were ever read, were never preach'd.*

In

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the learned and good Archbishop *Laud*, who knew him well in *Oxford* (for he was his contemporary there) told the King ('twas the knowing and conscientious King *Charles* the I.) that there was one Mr. *Sanderson*, an obscure Countrey Minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all Casuistical learning, that he desir'd his Majesty would make him his Chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, & gave the Bishop charge to hasten it, for he long'd, to discourse with a man that had dedicated his Studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot

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got not the King's desire, and Mr. *Sanderfon* was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in *November* following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the King did put many Cases of Conscience to him, and receiv'd from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him: so that at the end of his months attendance, the King told him, *He should long for the next November; for he resolv'd to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he return'd.* And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his Sermons, and would

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would usually say , *I carry my ears to hear other Preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly.* And this ought not to be conceal'd from Posterity, That the King thought what he spake : For he took him to be his Adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he prov'd to be his Comforter in those days of his affliction, when he apprehended himself to be in danger of Death or Deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King ( which was 1625.) he was chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of *Lincoln*, which I here mention ,  
be-

because about that time did arise many disputes about Predestination, and the many Critical Points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new Principles of Mr. *Calvin's* (though others say they were before his time.) But of these Dr. *Sanderfon* then drew up for his own satisfaction such a Scheme (he call'd it *Pax Ecclesiae*) as then gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation among the most learned. He was also chosen Clerk of all the Conventions during that good Kings reign. Which I here tell my Reader,

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

Reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that Convocation in 1640. the unhappy long Parliament, and some debates of the Predestination Points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Peirce*, the now reverend Dean of *Salisbury*.

In the year 1636. his Majesty then in his Progress took a fair occasion to visit *Oxford*, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and honourable Attendants, which the Reader ought to believe was futable to their dignities: But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming

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coming thither Dr. *Sanderfon* did attend him, and was then (the 31 of *August*) created Doctor of Divinity ; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the Nobility of this Nation then made *Doctors* and *Masters of Art* with him : Some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his (and none shall out-live it.) First Dr. *Curle* and Dr. *Wren*, who were then Bishops of *Winton* and of *Normich* (and had formerly taken their degrees in *Cambridge*) were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his University. So was *Merick* the Son of the learned *Izaak Casaubon* ; and Prince *Rupert* (who still lives) the then Duke

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*Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford,*  
*Earl of Essex, of Barkshire,* and  
very many others of noble birth  
(too many to be named) were  
then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy long Parliament, this Nation being then happy and in peace (though inwardly sick of being well) namely in the year 1639. a discontented party of the *Scots Church* were zealously restless for another Reformation of their Kirk Government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would injoyn the taking of it by all of  
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that Nation: but this Petition was not to be presented to him by a Committee of eight or ten men of their Fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so arm'd, as seem'd to force an assent to what they seem'd to request; so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entred *England*, and in their heat of Zeal took and plunder'd *New-Castle*, where the King was forc'd to meet them with an Army; but upon a Treaty and some concessions, he sent them back (though not so rich as they intended, yet) for that time without blood-shed: But oh, this Peace and this Covenant were but the forerunners of  
War

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War and the many miseries that followed: For in the year following there were so many chosen into the long Parliament, that were of a conjunct Council with these very zealous, and as factious Reformes, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the Members of that Parliament, and at last in the very common people of this Nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this Nation did again, in the year 1643.

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invite the Scotch Covenanters back into *England*: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their Pikes, and in their Hats, with this Motto, *For the Crown and Covenant of both Kingdoms*. This I saw, and suffer'd by it. But when I look back upon the ruine of Families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now sinful Nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which help'd to bring in this Covenant, and those sad Confusions that have follow'd it, And I have been the bolder

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bolder to say this of my self, because in a sad discourse with *Dr. Sanderson* I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the Reader in what will follow concerning *Dr. Sanderson*. And first, That the Covenanters of this Nation, and their party in Parliament, made many Exceptions against the Common Prayer and Ceremonies of the Church, and seem'd restless for a Reformation; And though their desires seem'd not reasonable to the King and the learned *Dr. Laud*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*; yet to quiet their Consciences, and pre-

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prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641. desire Dr. *Sanderson* to call two more of the Convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the Service Book, and abate some of the Ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the *Dean of Westminster's* House (for the space of 3 months or more.) But not long after that time, when Dr. *Sanderson* had made the Reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fall'n into such a confusion, that  
Dr,

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Dr. *Sanderson's* Model for Reformation became then useleſs. Nevertheless, his Reputation was ſuch, that he was in the year 1642. propos'd by both Houſes of Parliament to the King then in *Oxford*, to be one of their Truſtees for the ſettling of Church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be ſo; but that Treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643. the 2 Houſes of Parliament took upon them to make an Ordinance, and call an Aſſembly of Divines, to debate and ſettle ſome Church controversies (of which many were very unfit to judge :) in which Dr. *Sanderson* was alſo named ;

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but did not appear, I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the Summons wanting the King's Authority. And here I must look back and tell the Reader, that in the year 1642. he was (*July 21.*) named by a more undoubted Authority to a more noble imployment, which was to be *Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford*; but though *knowledge be said to puff up*, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great Abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons (expressed in his Speech, when he first appeared in the Chair, and since printed) kept him from entring into it till *October 1646.* He

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He did for about a years time continue to read his matchless Lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a Point very difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with Abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important Subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of Oaths in a degenerate Age, when men had made perjury a main part of their Religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following Lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very  
sensible

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sensible, that the best Pens must needs fall short in the commendation of them: So that I shall only add, That they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a compleat standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in Casuistical Divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the Reader, That about the time of his reading those Lectures (the King being then Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*) the Parliament had sent the *Covenant*, the *Negative Oath*, and I know not what more, to be taken by the *Doctor* of the *Chair*, and all Heads of Houses: and all other inferiour Scholars of what degree soever,  
were

*Dr. Robert Sanderson.*

were *all to take these Oaths* by a fixed day, and those that did not, to abandon their Colledge and the University too, within 24 hours after the beating of a Drum; for if they remain'd longer, they were to be proceeded against as Spies.

*Dr. Laud* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and many others, had been formerly murthered by this wicked Parliament, but the King yet was not ; and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a Treaty then in being, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an Agreement made between King and Parliament, that the dissenters in the University might  
both

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both preserve their Consciences and Subsistence which they then enjoyed by their Colledges.

And being possess'd of this mistaken hope, That the Parliament were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoyn'd Oaths, the University appointed twenty Delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a *Manifesto* to the Parliament, why they could not take those Oaths but by violation of their Consciences : And of these Delegates Dr. *Skeldon* (late Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Morley* (now Bishop of *Winchester*) and that most honest,

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

honest, and as judicious Civil Lawyer, Dr. *Zouch*, were a part; the rest I cannot now name; but the whole number of the Delegates requested Dr. *Zouch* to draw up the Law part, and give it to Dr. *Sanderson*, and he was requested to methodize and add what referr'd to reason and conscience, and put it into form: He yielded to their desires, and did so. And then after they had been read in a full Convocation, and allow'd of, they were printed in *Latin*, that the Parliaments proceedings and the Universities sufferings might be manifested to all Nations; and the Imposers of these Oaths might repent, or  
answer

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answer them; But they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turn'd into English by *Dr. Sanderson*, that those of these three Kingdoms might the better judge of the Loyal Parties sufferings.

About this time the Independants ( who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the Army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment, and by their own pretences to *liberty of Conscience*, were obliged to allow somewhat of that to the King, who had in the year 1646. sent for *Dr. Sanderson*,

**Dr. Robert Sanderson.**

*derfon Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldom* ( the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*) and *Dr. Morley* (the now Bishop of *Winchester*) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good Conscience comply with the Proposals of the Parliament for a Peace in Church and State ; but these having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now allow'd him by those in present power. And as those other Divines, so *Dr. Sanderson* gave his attendance on his Majesty also in the *Ile of Wight*, preach'd there before him, and had in that attendance many, both publick and private Conferences

tences with him, to his Majesties great satisfaction. At which time he desir'd *Dr. Sanderson*, that being the Parliament had propos'd to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with Monarchy, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment; He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy Restoration, and then it was. And at *Dr. Sanderson's* taking his leave of his Majesty in this last attendance on him, the King requested him to betake himself to the writing Cases of Conscience for the good of Posterity. To which his answer was,  
*That*

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

*That he was now grown old, and unfit to write Cases of Conscience. But the King was so bold with him, as to say, It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be a Judge, or write Cases of Conscience. And let me here take occasion to tell the Reader this truth, not commonly known, that in one of these Conferences this conscientious King told Dr. Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, That the remembrance of two Errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever*  
f restored

restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his Crown, he would demonstrate his Repentance by a publick Confession and a voluntary Penance (I think barefoot) from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon. I am sure one of them told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observ'd, that Dr. *Sanderson's* Lectures *de Juramento* were so approv'd and valu'd by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude, he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. *Juxson* (then Bishop of London) Dr. *Hammond*, and Sir *Thomas*

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*was Herbert* (who then attended him) to compare them with the Original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a Letter under his own hand, which was lately shew'd me by Sir *William Dugdale*, King at Arms. The Book was design'd to be put into the King's Library at *St James's*, but I doubt not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the Author and the Translator to be both so much concern'd in this Relation, that it ought not to be conceal'd from the Reader, and 'tis therefore here inserted.

I now return to *Dr. Sanderson* in the Chair in *Oxford*, where they

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that comply'd not in taking the *Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance* for Church Discipline and Worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of Expulsion; for the Visitors were daily expected, and both City and University full of Souldiers, and a party of Presbyterian Divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natur'd Visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their Colledges and Livelyhoods: But notwithstanding *Dr. Sanderson* did still continue to read his Lecture, and did to the very faces of those Presbyterian Divines and Souldiers, read with so much reason,  
and

**Dr. Robert Sanderfon.**

and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and beg'd pardon of God and him, and forbore to do what follow'd. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and as the Visitors expel'd the Orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possess themselves of their Colleges; so that with the rest, *Dr. Sanderfon* was ( in June 1648. ) forc'd to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprison'd, as *Dr. Sheldon*, *Dr. Hammond*, and others then were.

I must now again look back to *Oxford*, and tell my Reader, that the year before this expulsion,

when the University had deny'd this Subscription, & apprehended the danger of that Visitation which followed, they sent *Dr. Morley*, then Canon of *Christ-Church* (now Lord Bishop of *Winchester*) and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the Injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their Reasons why they could not take the Oaths injoyn'd them; and the Petition was by Parliament referr'd to a Committee to hear and report the Reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, *Dr. Morley* and the rest went to inform and see Counsel, to plead their Cause on the day  
ap-

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst undertake it; for at this time the Priviledges of that Parliament were become a *Noli me tangere*, as sacred and useful to them, as Traditions ever were, or are now to the Church of *Rome*, their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which Reason *Dr. Morley* was forc'd, for want of Counsel, to plead the Universities Reasons for not compliance with the Parliaments injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the Justice of

his Cause; yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to *Oxford* without commitment. This was some few days before the Visitors and more Soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was at this time of *Dr. Morley's* pleading a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, observing *Dr. Morley's* behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his Morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this Story, and knew

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knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, He had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the Oaths, and must therefore be ejected his Colledge, and leave Oxford, he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the Visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that he should without taking any Oath or other molestation, enjoy his Canons place in his Colledge. I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word; and his Answer was,

was, That I must not fail to return my Friend ( who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the Colledge, were turn'd out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame to be left behind with him only. Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be easily imagined, with what a joyful willingness these self-loving Reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved Colledges

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ledges and Subsistance : but their Consciences were dearer than their Subsistance, and out they went; the Reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these Scruple-mongers, and make an account of the then present affairs of *London*, to be the next imployment of my Readers patience.

And in *London* all the Bishops Houses were turn'd to be Prisons, and they fill'd with Divines, that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common Prayer, or that were accus'd for some faults like these. For it may be noted, That about this time the Parliament set out

a Proclamation to incourage all Lay-men that had occasion to complain of their Ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to Orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a Committee for that purpose ; and the Minister, though 100 miles from *London*, should appear there and give satisfaction , or be sequestred ; (and you may be sure no Parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grain'd complainant :) by which means all Prisons in *London*, and in some other places, became the sad habitations of Conforming Divines.

And

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And about this time the Bishop of *Canterbury* having been by an unknown Law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many of the malicious Citizens fearing his pardon, shut up their Shops, professing not to open them till Justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.

The Bishops had been voted out of the House of Parliament, & some upon that occasion sent to the *Tower*, which made many Covenanters rejoyce, and believe Mr. *Brightman* (who probably was a good and well meaning man) to be inspir'd in this Comment on  
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the *Apocalyps*, an Abridgment of which was now printed, and cal'd *Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation*. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet; because he had made the Churches of *Geneva* and *Scotland*, which had no Bishops, to be *Philadelphia* in the *Apocalyps*, the Angel that God loved; and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil Angel, which the House of Commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity: Therefore did those Covenanters approve and applaud *Mr. Brightman* for discovering and foretelling the Bishops downfall; so that they both rail'd

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at them, and rejoyc'd to buy good pennyworths of their Land; which their Friends of the House of Commons, did afford them as a reward of their diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the Bishops power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as every Parish might choose their own Minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not preach true Doctrine: and by this and like means several Churches had several Teachers, that pray'd and preach'd for and against one another; and engag'd their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they under-

understood not; some of which  
I shall mention in the discourse  
that follows.

I have heard of two men that  
in their discourse undertook to  
give a character of a third per-  
son; and one concluded he was  
a very honest man, *for he was be-  
holding to him*; and the other that  
he was not, *for he was not behold-  
en to him*. And something like  
this was in the designs both of  
the Covenanters and Indepen-  
dants (the last of which were  
now grown both as numerous  
and as powerful as the former:)  
for though they differed much in  
many Principles, and preach'd  
against each other, one making it

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a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the Covenant : and the other, that we ought to buy and sell by a Measure, and to allow the same liberty of Conscience to others , which we by Scripture claim to our selves ; and therefore not to force any to swear the Covenant contrary to their Consciences, and loose both their Livings and Liberties too. Though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down *Common Prayer*, and get into the best sequestred Livings ; and whatever became of the true Owners, their Wives and Children, yet to con-

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tinæ in them without the least scruple of Conscience.

They also made other strange Observations of *Election*, *Reprobation*, and *Free-will*, and the other Points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not; though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my Reader with me to Dr. *Sanderson* at *Boothby Pannel*.

And in the way thither I must tell him, That a very Covenanter and a Scot too, that came into *England* with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestred

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questred Living by the help of a Presbyterian Parish, which had got the true Owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian being well settled in this good Living, began to reform the Church-yard, by cutting down a large Ewe Tree, and some other Trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the Parishioners; who excepting against him for so doing, were answered, *That the Trees were his, and 'twas lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as they thought fit.* I have hear'd (but do not affirm it) That no Action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding sheet of a dead bo-

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dy after 'tis buried ; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity, and that such a Law would vilifie that Nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it : nor would one suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did. And whether there were any Law against, him I know not; but pity the Parish the less for turning out their legal Minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. *Sanderfon* at *Boothby* Parish, where he hop'd to have enjoy'd himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desir'd privacy ; but it prov'd otherwise : For all corners

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ners of the Nation were fill'd  
with Covenanters, Confusion,  
Comittee-men and Soldiers, ser-  
ving each other to their several  
ends, of revenge, or power, or  
profit; and these Committe-  
men and Soldiers were most of  
them so possess'd with this Cove-  
nant, that they became like those  
that were infected with that  
dreadful Plague of *Athens*; the  
Plague of which Plague was, that  
they by it became maliciously  
restless to get into company, and  
to joy (so the Historian \* saith) \* Thucidi-  
des.  
when they had infected others,  
even those of their most beloved  
or nearest Friends or Relations;  
and though there might be some

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of these Covenanters that were beguil'd, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. *Sanderson*, who though quiet and harmless, yet an eminent dissenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he: For the Soldiers would appear, and visibly disturb him in the Church when he read Prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be serv'd most acceptably: which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church Service, they forc'd his Book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary Prayers.

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At this time he was advis'd by a Parliament man of power and note, that lov'd and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the *Common Prayer*, but make some little variation, especially if the <sup>\*</sup>Soldiers came to watch him ; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other Friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or Sequestration : for which Reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict Rules of the Rubrick. I will set down the very words of Confession which he us'd, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the Reader that all his other variations were as little, & much like to this.

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### *His Confession.*

**O** Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy Servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy Laws both in thought, word and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties, which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any Creature to relieve us; but all

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our hope is in thy mercy, whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked: Have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders: spare us good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true Repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy Name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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In these disturbances of tearing his Service Book, a Neighbour came on a Sunday, after the Evening Service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the Soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said ; *God hath restored me to my desir'd privacy, with my wife and children, where I hop'd to have met with quietness, and it proves not so ; but I will labour to be pleas'd, because God, on whom I depend, sees 'tis not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him, that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwrack of a good Conscience to maintain me in a place of great reputation and profit : and*  
though

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*though my condition be such, that I need the last; yet I submit, for God did not send me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will, and I will obey it.* Thus by a sublime depending on his wise, and powerful; and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed, justifying the truth of that Doctrine which he had preach'd.

About this time that excellent Book of the *King's Meditations in his Solitude* was printed, and made publick: and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the Author, and so desirous that the whole world should see the character of him in that Book, and something of the

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the cause for which they suffer'd, that he design'd to turn it into Latin : but when he had done half of it most excellently , his Friend Dr. *Earle* prevented him, by appearing to have done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most intimate Friend, the learned Dr. *Hammond*, came to enjoy a conversation and rest with him for some days, and did so. And having formerly perswaded him to trust his excellent memory , and not read , but try to speak a Sermon as he had writ it. Dr. *Sanderson* became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sun.

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Sunday following to a Neighbour Minister, and requested to exchange a Sermon ; and they did so. And at Dr. *Sanderson's* going into the Pulpit, he gave his Sermon ( which was a very short one ) into the hand of Dr. *Hammond*, intending to preach it as 'twas writ ; but before he had preach'd a third part, Dr. *Hammond* ( looking on his Sermon as written ) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, that he also became afraid for him ; for 'twas discernable to many of the plain Auditory : But when he had ended this short Sermon, as they two walk'd homeward, Dr. *Sanderson* said with much earnest-

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earnestness, Good Doctor give me my Sermon, and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my Books. To which the reply was, Good Doctor be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without Book, I will give you leave to burn all those that I am Master of.

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time, to discourse Dr. Sanderfon about some Opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly; 'twas about those knotty Points, which are by the Learned call'd the *Quinquarticular Controversie*; of which I shall

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shall proceed, not to give any Judgment (I pretend not to that) but some short Historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought, and so generally taken in *England*, a liberty given or taken by many Preachers (those of *London* especially) to preach and be too positive in the Points of *Universal Redemption, Predestination*, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preach'd, *That all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that 'twas not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endea-*

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*endeavour to avoid the latter. Others, That 'twas not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world; affirming therefore, that man had some power left him to do the will of God; because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling; maintaining, that 'tis most certain, every man can do what he can to be saved; and that he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned: And yet many that affirmed this, would confess, That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive*

*or*

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or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven. Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648. the 52 London Ministers (then a Fraternity of *Ston Colledge* in that City) had in a printed Declaration aspers'd Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his *Practical Catechism* affirm'd, *That our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind.* To  
h justifie

justice which truth, he presently makes a charitable Reply (as 'tis now printed in his Works.) After which there were many Letters past betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderfon was with much unwillingness drawn into this Debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differ'd with Dr. Hammond (whom he revered and loved dearly) and would not therefore ingage him into a Controversie, of which he could never hope to see an end: but they did all enter into a charitable disquisition

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quisition of these said Points in several Letters, to the full satisfaction of the Learned; those betwixt *Dr. Sanderson* and *Dr. Hammond* being printed in his Works; and for what past betwixt him and the Learned *Dr. Pierce*, I refer my Reader to a Letter annext to the end of this Relation.

I think the Judgment of *Dr. Sanderson* was by these Debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632. when his excellent Sermons were first printed in 4°. the Reader may on the Margent find some accusation of *Arminius* for false Doctrine; and find, that

upon a review and reprinting those Sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of *Arminius* is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said Letter to *Dr. Pierce*. And let me now tell the Reader, which may seem to be perplex'd with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that *Dr. Hammond*, in a Postscript to the last Letter of *Dr. Sanderson's*, says, *God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety.* And let me add further, that if these 52 Ministers of *Sion Colledge* were the occasion of

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of the Debates in these Letters ;  
they have, I think, been the oc-  
casion of giving an end to the  
*Quinquarticular Controversie* ; for  
none have since undertaken to  
say more ; but seem to be so wise,  
as to be content to be ignorant  
of the rest, till they come to that  
place, where the secrets of all  
hearts shall be laid open. And let  
me here tell the Reader also, that  
if the rest of mankind would, as  
Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their  
alteration of Judgment, but con-  
fess it to the honour of God and  
themselves, then our Nation  
would become freer from perti-  
nacious Disputes , and fuller of  
Recantations.

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I cannot lead my Reader to *Dr. Hammond* and *Dr. Sanderfon* where we left them at *Boothby Pannel*, till I have look'd back to the long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in *Sion Colledge*, and those others scattered up and down in *London*, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned *Dr. Laud*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both then and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us, namely, That in his last  
sad

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had Sermon on the Scaffold at his death, he having freely pardon-  
ed all his Enemies, and humbly  
begg'd of God to pardon them,  
and besought those present to  
pardon and pray for him; yet  
he seem'd to accuse the Magi-  
strates of the City, for suffering  
a sort of wretched people, that  
could not know why he was con-  
demned, to go visibly up and  
down to gather hands to a Peti-  
tion, *That the Parliament would  
hasten his Execution.* And having  
declar'd how unjustly he thought  
himself to be condemned, and  
accus'd for endeavouring to  
bring in *Popery* (for that was one  
of the Accusations for which he  
h 4 died)

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died) he declar'd with sadness,  
*That the several Sects and Divisions*  
*then in England (which he had*  
*laboured to prevent) were like to*  
*bring the Pope a far greater harvest,*  
*than he could ever have expected*  
*without them. And said, these Sects*  
*and Divisions introduce prophane-*  
*ness under the cloak of an imagina-*  
*ry Religion; and that we have lost*  
*the substance of Religion by changing*  
*it into Opinion; and that by these*  
*means this Church, which all the*  
*Jesuits machinations could not ru-*  
*ine, was fall'n into apparent danger*  
*by those which were his Accusers. To*  
*this purpose he spoke at his*  
*death; for this, & more of which,*  
*the Reader may view his last sad*  
*Ser-*

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Sermon on the Scaffold. And 'tis here mentioned, because his dear Friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same in his two large and remarkable Prefaces before his two Volumes of Sermons; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last Will, made when he apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that by the late wicked War began by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Professors Chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived 14 years after) both the Learned of this  
and

and other Nations, had been made happy by many remarkable *Cases of Conscience*, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determin'd, that Posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderfon was born in this Nation, for the ease and benefit of all the Learned that shall be born after him; But this benefit is so like *time past*, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to *Boothby Pannel* where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderfon together, but neither can be found there. For the first was in his Journey to *London*, and the second seiz'd upon

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upon the day after his Friends departure, and carried Prisoner to *Lincoln*, then a Garison of the Parliaments. For the pretended reason of which Commitment, I shall give this following account,

There was one Mr. *Clarke*, the Minister of *Alington*, a Town not many miles from *Boothby Pannel*, who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; so that, when *Belvoir Castle* (then a Garison for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's Soldiers, was taken in it, & made a Prisoner of War in *Newark*; then a Garison of the Kings; a man so active and useful for his party,

party, that they became so much concern'd for his enlargement; that the Committee of *Lincoln* sent a Troop of Horse to seize and bring *Dr. Sanderson* a Prisoner to that *Garison*; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to treat him kindly; but told him, *He must continue their Prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an Exchange for Mr. Clarke then Prisoner in the King's Garison of Newark.* There were many Reasons given by the Doctor of the Injustice of his Imprisonment, and the Inequality of the Exchange, but all were unef-  
fectual:

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fectual : For done it must be,  
or he continue a Prisoner. And  
in time done it was upon the  
following Conditions.

First, that Dr. *Sanderfon* and  
Mr. *Clarke* being Exchanged,  
should live undisturb'd at their  
own Parishes ; and if either were  
injur'd by the Soldiers of the  
contrary party, the other having  
notice of it, should procure him  
a Redress, by having satisfaction  
made for his loss, or for any o-  
ther injury ; or if not, he to be  
us'd in the same kind by the o-  
ther party. Nevertheless, Dr.  
*Sanderfon* could neither live safe,  
nor quietly, being several times  
plundered, and once wounded in  
three

three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burthen by impatience or complying, forbore both; and possess'd his Soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this Exchange, yet by his Providence that can bring good out of evil, it turn'd so much to his advantage, that whereas his Living had been sequestered from the year 1644. and continued to be so till this time of his Imprisonment, he, by the *Articles of War* in this Exchange for Mr. Clarke, procur'd his Sequestration to be recall'd

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call'd, and by that means enjoy'd  
a poor but contented subsistence  
for himself, wife, and children,  
till the happy Restoration of our  
King and Church.

In this time of his poor, but  
contented privacy of life, his Ca-  
sual Learning, peaceful mo-  
deration and sincerity, became  
so remarkable, that there were  
many that apply'd themselves to  
him for Resolution in Cases of  
Conscience; some known to him,  
many not; some requiring satis-  
faction by Conference, others by  
Letters; so many, that his life  
became almost as restless as their  
minds; yet he denied no man:  
And if it be a truth which *bold*  
Mr.

Mr. Herbert says, *That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy or doing kindnesses*; then doubtless Dr. Sander-son might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded Consciences; which, as Solomon says, *are a burthen that none can bear*, though their fortitude may sustain their other Infirmities; and if words cannot express the joy of a Conscience relieved from such restless Agonies; then Dr. Sander-son might rejoyce, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; for he denied none, and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that

God

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God had inclin'd his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious Souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many Cases that were resolved by Letters, have been preserv'd and printed for the benefit of Posterity; as namely,

1. *Of the Sabbath.*
2. *Marrying with a Recusant.*
3. *Of unlawful Love.*
4. *Of a Military life.*
5. *Of Scandal.*
6. *Of a Bond taken in the King's Name.*
7. *Of the Ingagement.*
8. *Of a rash Vow.*

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of *Symony*; and I wish the World might see it, that it might undeceive some Patrons, who think they have discharg'd that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a Living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amaz'd & grown giddy by the many falshoods and misapplications of Truths frequently vented in Sermons; when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party,

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ry, and call'd upon him in their prayers to patronize their Sacrilege & zealous Frenzies, in this time he did so compaffionate the generality of this misled Nation, that though the times threatned danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold Preface now extant before his last 20 Sermons (first printed in the year 1655.) In which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Non-conformists, as being read by one of those dissenting Brethren, who was possess'd with such a spirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield

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to truth manifest (his Conscience having slept long and quietly in a good sequestred Living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the dammage he was to sustain if he consented to it (and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reason'd) he went in haste to the Bookseller of whom 'twas bought, threatned him, and told him in anger, *he had sold a Book in which there was false Divinity; and that the Preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly Ministers of that party for unjust dealing.* To which his Reply was ('twas *Tim. Garthwaite*) *That*  
*'twas*

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*'twas not his Trade to judge of true or false Divinity, but to print and sell Books; and yet if he, or any friend of his would write an Answer to it, and own it by setting his Name to it, he would print the Answer, and promote the selling of it.*

About the time of his printing this excellent Preface, I met him accidentally in *London* in sad-coloured clothes, and God knows, far from being costly: the place of our meeting was near to *little Britain*, where he had been to buy a Book, which he then had in his hand: we had no inclination to part presently; and therefore turn'd to stand in a corner under a Penthouse (for it began to rain)

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and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had *Bread, Cheese, Ale, & a Fire* for our money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my Reader. He seem'd to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the scandal

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dal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many Martyrs, who had seal'd the truth and use of it with their blood; and that no Minister was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at least, pretend to make better Prayers *ex tempore*: and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their Sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their Prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the *Common Prayer* of the Church, saying, *The Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant expressions*

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that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and that so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our Neighbour; and that a Congregation behaving themselves reverently, & putting up to God these joynt and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for mercies receiv'd, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw unpremeditated expressions, to which many of the hearers could not say Amen.

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the *Psalter* or *Psalms of David*; speaking to this purpose, *That they were the*  
Trea-

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*Treasury of Christian Comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities; able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leasure; to beget a trust in the mercy, power, & providence of our Creator; & to cause a resignation of our selves to his will; & then (and not till then) to believe our selves happy. This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our souls comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul*  
that

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that composed them. After this manner he express'd himself concerning the Liturgy & Psalms; & seem'd to lament that this, which was the Devotion of the more Primitive times, should in common Pulpits be turn'd into needless debates about *Free-will, Election*, and *Reprobation*, of which, and many like Questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to Heaven by hard Questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of Devotion.

And he seem'd to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the Nation  
were

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were possess'd with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, *They might be religious first, and then just and merciful ; that they might sell their Consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping ; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous ; that to be cunning was to be wise ; that to be rich was to be happy, though their wealth was got without justice or mercy ; that to be busie in things they understood not, was no sin.* These, and the like mistakes he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and singleheartedness, with which this Nation was blest,  
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before the unhappy Covenant was brought into the Nation, and every man preach'd and pray'd what seem'd best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, *That the way to restore this Nation to a more meek and Christian temper, was to have the Body of Divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known) to be put into 52 Homilies or Sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hours reading; and these needful Points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read*  
every

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*every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following: and that this being done, it might probably abate the inordinate desire of knowing what we need not, and praising what we know, and ought to do.* This was the earnest desire of this prudent man. And, O that Dr. Sanderson had undertaken it! for then in all probability it would have prov'd effectual.

At this happy time of enjoying his company and this discourse, he express'd a sorrow by saying to me, *O that I had gone Chaplain to that excellently accomplish'd*

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*plish'd Gentleman, your Friend, Sir  
Henry Wootton ! which was once  
intended, when he first went Amba-  
sador to the State of Venice : for  
by that imployment I had been forc'd  
into a necessity of conversing, not  
with him only, but with several men  
of several Nations; and might thereby  
have kept my self from my unmanly  
bashfulness, which has prov'd very  
troublesome, and not less inconveni-  
ent to me ; and which I now fear is  
become so habitual as never to leave  
me : and by that means I might also  
have known, or at least have had the  
satisfaction of seeing one of the late  
miracles of general learning, pru-  
dence, and modesty, Sir Henry  
Woottons dear Friend, Padre*

*Pau.*

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Paulo, *who, the Author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible, as I have found my own to be : A man whose fame must never die, till vertue and learning shall become so useles as not to be regarded.*

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hours conversation : and I gladly remember and mention it, as an Argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescention. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the Reader. He lamented much, that in many Parishes, where the maintenance was  
not

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not great, there was no Minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestred Livings were possess'd with such rigid Covenanters as denied the Sacrament to their Parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner as they could not take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, *The blessed Sacrament did, by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious Receivers to examine the performance of their Vows, since they received their last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and to examine and re-search their hearts, and make penitent reflexions on their failings; and that done, to bewail them, and then make*

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*make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's Commands, and beg his grace to perform them. And this done, the Sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our satisfaction in this life, and our comfort on our last Sick-beds. The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.*

*I hope I shall not disoblige my Reader, if I here enlarge into*

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a further Character of his person and temper. As first, That he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, but so matchless a fortitude, as secur'd him from complying with any of those many Parliament injunctions, that interfer'd with a doubtful conscience. His Learning was methodical and exact; his wisdom useful; his integrity visible; and his whole life so unspotted, that all ought to be preserved as Copies for Posterity

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sterity to write after ; the Clergy especially , who with impure hands ought not to offer Sacrifice to that God, whose pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his Sermons no improper Rhetorick , nor such perplex'd divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect : But there was therein no want of useful matter, nor waste of words ; and yet such clear distinctions as dispel'd all confus'd Notions , and made his hearers depart both wiser , and more confirm'd in vertuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless

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and firm, as 'twas only overcome by his bashfulness ; for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the *Odes of Horace*, all *Tully's Offices*, and much of *Juvenal* and *Persius* without Book; and would say, *The repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself was to him such musick, as a Lesson on the Viol was to others, when they play'd it to themselves or friends.* And though he was blest with a clearer Judgment than other men; yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determin'd better, yet, when the Bell toll'd  
for

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for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in *Oxford*, and all the Scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolv'd and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appear'd to be a truth, which his o'd dear Friend Dr. *Sheldon* would often say, namely, *That his judgment was so much superiour to his phancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that dislik'd and controul'd; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forc'd to write, not (probably) what was best, but what he thought last.* And yet what he did then read, appear'd to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as

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none ever determin'd with greater applause. These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him an aversness to enter into the toyl of considering and determining all Casuistical Points; because during that time, they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loden with these knotty Points and Distinctions; yet the study of old *Records*, *Genealogies*, and *Heraldry*, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable Volumes; and the Reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And

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And this humble man had so conquer'd all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day prov'd to his danger or dammage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness: always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor Family; nor suffered him to violate his Conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolv'd with *David*, *That his praise should be always in his mouth.*

I have taken a content in gi-  
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ving my Reader this Character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and more might be added of all: But I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men suffered, about the year 1658. at which time Dr. *Sanderfon* was in a very low condition as to his Estate: And in that time Mr. *Robert Boyle* (a Gentleman of a very Noble Birth, and more eminent for his Liberality, Learning, and Virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually met with, and read his *Lectures de Furamento*, to his great satisfaction, and being  
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informed of Dr. *Sanderson's* great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his Family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliaments injunctions, sent him by his dear Friend Dr. *Barlow* (the now learned Bishop of *Lincoln*) 50 l. and with it a request and promise: The request was, That he would review the Lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*, and print them for the good of Posterity; (and this Dr. *Sanderson* did in the year 1659.) And the Promise was, That he would pay him that, or a greater sum if desir'd, during his Life, to  
inable

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inable him to pay an *Ananienſis*, to eaſe him from the trouble of writing what he ſhould conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which, I refer my Reader to a Letter writ by the ſaid Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this Relation.

Towards the end of this year 1659. when the many mixt Sects, and their Creators and mercileſs Proteſtors, had led or driven each other into a Whirl-pool of Confuſion : when amazement and fear had ſeiz'd them, and their accusing Conſciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the God which  
they

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they had long serv'd , was now ready to pay them such wages as he does always reward *Witches* with for their obeying him; When these wretches were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return ; and such Sufferers as *Dr. Sanderfon* ( and with him many of the oppressed Clergy and others ) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispers'd by it : Then, in the beginning of the year following, the King was by God restored to us, and we to our known Laws and Liberties; and a general joy and peace seem'd to breath through the 3 Nations. Then were the suffering Clergy freed

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freed from their Sequestration ,  
restor'd to their Revenues, and  
to a liberty to adore, praise, and  
pray to God in such order as  
their Consciences and Oaths had  
formerly obliged them. And the  
Reader will easily believe that *Dr.*  
*Sanderson* and his dejected Fa-  
mily rejoyc'd to see this day, and  
be of this number.

It ought to be considered  
(which I have often heard or  
read) that in the Primitive times  
men of learning and vertue were  
usually sought for, and solicited  
to accept of *Episcopal Government*,  
and often refus'd it. For they  
conscientiously considered, that  
the Office of a Bishop was made  
up

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up of labour and care : that they were trusted to be God's Almoners of the Churches Revenue , and double their care for the poor : to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their Familie, Officers, and Clergy did so; and that the account of that Stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts : and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be said that *Dr. Sanderfon* was accomplish'd with these, and all the other requisites requir'd in a Bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirm'd, as a good preparation,

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paration, that he had at the Age of 73 years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardon'd by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which (God knows) we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of *Dr. Sanderson*; and namely, That at the King's return *Dr. Sheldon*, the late prudent Bishop of *Canterbury* (than whom none knew, valued, or lov'd *Dr. Sanderson* more or better) was by his Majesty made a chief Trustee to  
com-

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commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant Bishopricks. And *Dr. Sheldon* knew none fitter than *Dr. Sanderson*, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him ; and that done , he did as humbly desire *Dr. Sanderson* that he would for Gods and the Churches sake, take that charge and care upon him. *Dr. Sanderson* had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say , *He had not led himself, but his Friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily pray'd against ; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that*  
the

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*the example of his life, his cares and  
endeavours, might promote his glory,  
and help forward the salvation of o-  
thers.*

This I have mentioned as a  
happy preparation to his Bishop-  
rick, and am next to tell that he  
was consecrated Bishop of *Lin-  
coln* at *Westminster* the 28th of *O-  
ctober*, 1660.

There was about this time  
a Christian care taken, that those  
whose Consciences were (as they  
said) tender, and could not com-  
ply with the Service and Cere-  
monies of the Church, might  
have satisfaction given by a  
friendly debate betwixt a select  
number of them, and some like  
number

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number of those that had been Sufferers for the *Church Service* and *Ceremonies*, and now restor'd to liberty ; of which last some were then preferr'd to power and dignity in the Church. And of these Bishop *Sanderson* was one , and then chose to be a Moderator in that debate : and he perform'd his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason, but all prov'd uneffectual : For there be some propositions like jealousies, which (though causless, yet) cannot be remov'd by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the *Savoy* in the *Strand* ; and the

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Points debated were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplex'd, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or deny'd, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolv'd that the day following the desires and reasons of the *Non-conformists* should be given in writing, and they in writing receive Answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need

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need to mention all the Points debated, nor the names of the dissenting Brethren: yet I am sure Mr. *Baxter* was one, and am sure what shall now follow, was one of the Points debated.

Concerning a Command of lawful Superiours, what was sufficient to its being a lawful Command; this Proposition was brought by the conforming Party.

*That Command which commands an act in it self lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.*

Mr. *Baxter* denied it for two Reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus:

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One was, *Because that may be a sin per accidens, which is not so in it self, and maybe unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command.* Another was, *That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.*

Again, this Proposition being brought by the Conformists, *That Command which commandeth an act in it self lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoyned, nor any circumstance whence per accidens any sin is consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.*

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason then given in with his own hand in writing, thus : *Be-  
cause*

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cause the first act commanded may be  
per accidens unlawful, and be com-  
manded by an unjust penalty, though  
no other act or circumstance com-  
manded be such.

Now Again, this Proposition being  
brought by the Conformists, That  
Command which commandeth an act  
in it self lawful, and no other Act  
whereby any unjust penalty is enjoyn-  
ed, nor any circumstance whence di-  
rectly or per accidens any sin is  
consequent, which the Commander  
ought to provide against, bath in it  
all things requisite to the lawfulness  
of a Command, and particularly can-  
not be guilty of commanding an act  
per accidens unlawful, nor of com-  
manding an act under an unjust pe-  
nalty.

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**Mr. Baxter** denied it upon the  
same Reasons.

*Peter Gunning.*

*John Pearson.*

These were then two of the  
Disputants, still live, and will  
attest this; one being now Lord  
Bishop of *Ely*, and the other of  
*Chester*. And the last of them told  
me very lately, that one of the  
Dissenters (which I could, but  
forbear to name) appear'd to *Dr.*  
*Sanderfon* to be so bold, so trou-  
blesome, and so illogical in the  
dispute, as forc'd patient *Dr. San-*  
*derfon* (who was then Bishop of  
*Lincoln*, and a Moderator with  
other Bishops) to say with an  
unusual earnestness, *That he had*  
*never*

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*never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his conversation.*

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restor'd to their former rights and power, did at their next meeting in Convocation contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the *Rubrick* and *Common Prayer*, as also by adding some new necessary

Collects, and a particular Collect of Thanksgiving. How many of those new Collects were worded by *Dr. Sanderson*, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any Point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any Point in question was determin'd, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve & thank him.

At this Convocation the *Common Prayer* was made more compleat, by adding 3 new necessary Offices; which were, *A form of Humiliation for the murther of King Charles*

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Charles the Martyr ; a Thanksgiv-  
ing for the Restoration of his Son  
our King ; and for the baptizing of  
persons of riper age. I cannot say  
Dr. Sanderson did form or word  
them all, but doubtless more than  
any single man of the Convoca-  
tion ; and he did also, by desire  
of the Convocation, alter & add  
to the forms of Prayers to be u-  
sed at Sea (now taken into the  
*Service Book*.) And it may be no-  
ted, That *William*, the now right  
Reverend Bishop of *Canterbury*,  
was in these employments dili-  
gently useful, especially in help-  
ing to rectifie the *Kalendar* and  
*Rubrick*. And lastly it may be no-  
ted, That for the satisfying all the  
dissenting

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dissenting Brethren and others, the Convocations Reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy, were by them desir'd to be drawn up by *Dr. Sanderson*; which being done by him, and approv'd by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this Title,—*The Preface*: and begins thus—*It hath been the wisdom of the Church—*.

I shall now follow him to his Bishoprick, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busie and weighty imployment. And first, That it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his Clergy, as to know  
and

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and be known to them. And indeed he practis'd the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old Neighbours or Parishioners of *Boothby Pannel*; for there was all joy at his Table when they came to visit him: then they pray'd for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be deny'd but that the care and toyl required of a Bishop, may justly challenge the riches & revenue with which their Predecessors had lawfully endow'd them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good both to the present Age and Posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The

The Bishops chief House at *Buckden*, in the County of *Huntington*, the usual Residence of his Predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his Diocese) having been at his Consecration a great part of it demolish'd, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repair'd; and it was perform'd with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, That the King having by an *Injunction* commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all Cathedral Churches, *the repair of them, their Houses, and augmentation of small Vicarages*; He, when he was repair-  
ing

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ing *Bugden*, did also augment the last, as fast as Fines were paid for renewing Leases: so fast, that a Friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, *he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered.* To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, *It would not become a Christian Bishop to suffer those houses built by his Predecessors, to be ruin'd for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those that were call'd to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's Altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly,*

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*stantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of chearfulness : and wisb'd, that as this was, so it were also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hop'd to leave them a competence ; and in the hands of a God, that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy.*

There was in his Diocese a Minister of almost his Age, that had been of *Lincoln Colledge* when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and openheartedness.

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heartedness: This Minister asked the Bishop what Books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear Learning? To which his Answer was, That he declin'd reading many; but what he did read, were well chosen, and read so often, that he became very familiar with them; and said they were chiefly three, *Aristotle's Rhetorick*, *Aquinas's Secunda Secunda*, and *Tully*, but chiefly his *Offices*, which he had not read over less than 20 times, and could at this Age say without Book. And told him also, the learned Civilian Doctor *Zouch* (who died lately) had writ *Elementa jurisprudentia*, which  
was

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was a Book that he could also say without Book ; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend too much; and told him these had been his toyl : But for himself, he always had a natural love to *Genealogies* and *Heraldry* ; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplext Studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation ; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the Descent, Arms, & Antiquity of any Family of the Nobility or Gentry of this Nation.

Before I give an account of  
Dr,

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

Dr, *Sanderfon's* last sickness, I desire to tell the Reader that he was of a healthful constitution, chearful and mild , of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every Winter punish'd with a *Diarrhea*, which left him not till warm weather return'd and remov'd it : And this distemper did, as he grew elder, seize him oftner , and continue longer with him. But though it weakned him, yet it made him rather indispos'd than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much.) In this decay of his strength , but

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not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding) he made his last Will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last Will give an account of his Faith and Perswasion in point of Religion and Church Government, in these very words :

**I** Robert Sanderson Dr. of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God Bishop of Lincoln, being by  
he

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

the long continuance of an habitual  
distemper brought to a great bodily  
weakness and faintness of spirits, but  
(by the great mercy of God) without  
any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of  
understanding, do make this my  
Will and Testament (written all with  
my own hand) revoking all former  
Wills by me heretofore made, if any  
such shall be found. First, I com-  
mend my Soule into the hands of Al-  
mighty God, as of a faithful Crea-  
tor, which I humbly beseech him mer-  
cifully to accept, looking upon it, not  
as it is in it self (infinitely polluted  
with sin) but as it is redeemed and  
purged with the precious blood of his  
only beloved Son, and my most sweet  
Saviour Jesus Christ, in confidence of  
m 2 whose

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*whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast my self upon the mercy of God for the pardow of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire, and (by the grace of God) resolve to dye in the Communion of the Catholick Church of Christ, and a true Son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by Law established, to be both in Doctrine and Worship agreeable to the Word of God, and in the most, and most material Points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly Churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believed so to do, not so much from the force of custome and education (to which*

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which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of Religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me : and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the Schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the Superstition which the Puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace,

m 3 truth,

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truth, and godlinesſ, evermore to the worlds end : which doubtleſſ he will do, if the wickedneſſ and ſecurity of a ſinful people (and particularly thoſe ſins that are ſo riſe, and ſeem daily to increaſe among us, of Unthankfulneſs, Riot, and Sacriledge) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I alſo farther humbly beſeech him, that it would pleaſe him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the Reverend Biſhops, and the Parliament, timely to conſider the great danger that viſibly threatens this Church in point of Religion by the late great increaſe of Popery, and in point of Revenue by ſacrilegious encloſures ; and to provide ſuch wholeſome and effectual remedies as may prevent

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*prevent the same before it be too late.*

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the Reader, by another part of his Will which follows.

*As for my corruptible Body, I bequeath it to the Earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the Parish Church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the Chancel, upon the second, or (at the farthest) the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the Inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expence of Escocheons, Gloves, Ribons,*

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&c. and without any Blacks to be hung any where in or about the House or Church, other than a Pulpit Cloth, a Hearse Cloth, and a Mourning Gown for the Preacher ; whereof the former (after my Body shall be interred) to be given to the Preacher of the Funeral Sermon, and the latter to the Curat of the Parish for the time being. And my will further is, That the Funeral Sermon be preached by my own Household Chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning Mortality, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the last Judgment ; and that he shall have for his pains 5 l. upon condition, that he speak nothing at all concerning my person, either good or ill, other than I  
my

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

*my self shall direct ; only signifying to the Auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will, that no costly Monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat Marble Stone to be laid over me, with this Inscription in legible Roman Characters, Depositum Roberti Sanderson nuper Lincolniensis Episcopi, qui obiit Anno Domini MDCLXII. & ætatis suæ septuagesimo sexto, Hic requiescit in spe beatæ resurrectionis. This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest Friends and Relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind,*

## *The Life of*

*mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my Will may be carefully observed heretn, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death (what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time) my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in Funeral Sermons, and of the vast Expences otherwise laid out in Funeral Solemnities and Entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which (if bestowed in pious and charitable works) might redound to the publick or private benefit of many persons.*

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of *January*, 1662. and that his Body was buried in *Bugden* the third day after his death; and for the manner, that 'twas as far from ostentation as he desir'd it; and all the rest of his Will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his just praise) told this truth, *That he died far from being rich*, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last Sick-bed.

His last Will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death, about which time finding his strength to decay by reason of  
his

*The Life of*

his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retir'd to his Chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. And that none of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Bishops) might suffer by his retirement, he did by Commission impower his Chaplain, *Mr. Pullin*, with Episcopal Power to give Institutions to all Livings or Church Preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement he long'd for his Dissolution; and when some that  
lov'd

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

lov'd him pray'd for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seem'd to be displeas'd, by saying, *His Friends said their Prayers backward for him; and that 'twas not his desire to live a useles life, and by filling up a place keep another out of it, that might do God and his Church service.* He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, *That during his being a House-keeper (which was more than 40 years) there had not been one buried out of his Family, and that he was now like to be the first.* He would also often mention with thankfulness, *That till he was threescore years of Age, he had never spent 5 s. in Law, nor*  
(upon

*The Life of*

*(upon himself) so much in Wine: and  
rejoyc'd much that he had so liv'd,  
as never to cause an hours sorrow to  
his good Father; and hop'd he  
should die without an Enemy.*

He in this retirement had the  
Church Prayers read in his  
Chamber twice every day;  
and at nine at night some Pray-  
ers read to him and a part of his  
Family out of the *Whole Duty of  
Man*. As he was remarkably  
punctual and regular in all his  
studies and actions; so he us'd  
himself to be for his Meals. And  
his dinner being appointed to  
be constantly ready at the end-  
ing of Prayers, and he expect-  
ting and calling for it, was an-  
swered,

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

*It would be ready in a quarter of an hour.* To which his reply was, *A quarter of an hour? Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live.* And though he did live many hours after this, yet he liv'd not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary of either motion or sitting, that he was content, or forc'd to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before  
fore

*The Life of*

fore his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the *new Jerusalem*, took the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of his, and our blessed *Jesus*, from the hands of his Chaplain *Mr. Pullin*, accompanied with his Wife, Children, and a Friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose ; *Thou, O God, took'st me out of my mothers womb, and hast been the powerful Protector of me to this present moment of my life ; thou hast*  
*neither*

Dr. Robert Sanderfon.

*neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my Conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. 'Twas by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die praising thee.*

The frequent repetition of the *Psalms of David* hath been noted to be a great part of the Devotion of the Primitive Christians: The Psalms having in them not only Prayers and holy Instructions, but such Commemorations of God's Mercies, as may preserve

n                      serve

*The Life of*

serve comfort, and confirm our dependance on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mention'd in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist said, that *his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word*: so 'twas Dr. Sanderfon's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very Psalms, that the Church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily Morning Service; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly clos'd his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for

*Psal. 119.*

147.

*Dr. Robert Sanderson.*

for the Service of the Evening, remembring & repeating the very Psalms appointed for every day ; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this Exercise of his Devotion. And if his first waking thoughts were of the World, or what concern'd it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now his employment in heaven.

After his taking his Bed, and about a day before his death, he desir'd his Chaplain, *Mr. Pullin*, to give him Absolution : And at his performing that Office, he pull'd off his Cap, that *Mr. Pullin*

n 2 might

*The Life of*

might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his Body seem'd to be at more ease, and his mind more chearful ; and he said, *Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be filled with thy praise.* He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little Offices that were perform'd for his ease and refreshment; and during that time, did often say the 103 *Psalme* to himself, and very often these words, *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.* His thought seem'd now to be wholly of death,  
for

Dr. Robert Sanderson.

for which he was so prepar'd, that  
that *King of Terrors* could not sur-  
prise him *as a thief in the night*;  
for he had often said, *he was pre-*  
*par'd, and long'd for it.* And as this  
desire seem'd to come from Hea-  
ven; so it left him not, till his Soul  
ascended to that Region of blef-  
sed Spirits, whose Employments  
are to joyn in consort with him,  
and sing *praise and glory* to that  
God, who hath brought them to  
that place, *into which sin and sorrow*  
*cannot enter.*

Thus this pattern of *meekness*  
and primitive *innocence* chang'd  
this for a better life. 'Tis now too  
late to wish that my life may be  
like his; for I am in the eighty

*The Life of*  
fifth year of my Age; but I hum-  
bly beseech Almighty God, that  
my death may; and do as earnest-  
ly beg of every Reader to say A-  
men.

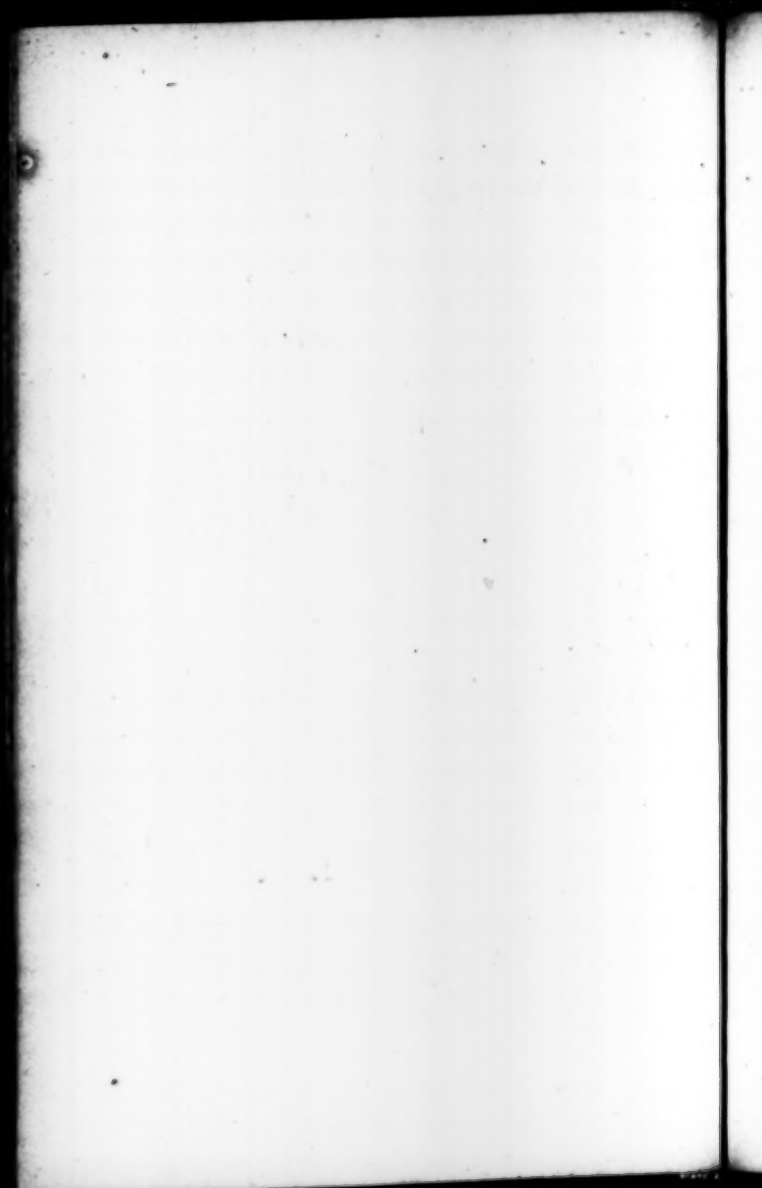
*Psal. 32. 2.*

*Blessed is the man in whose Spirit  
there is no guile.*

Post-

## Postscript.

**I**F I had had time to have reviewed this Relation, as I intended, before it went to the Press, I could have contracted some, and altered other parts of it; but 'twas hastned from me, and now too late for this impression. If there be a second (which the Printer hopes for) I shall both do that, and, upon information, mend any mistake, or supply what may seem wanting.





Dr. *PIERCE's*

# LETTER.

Good Mr. Walton,

**A**T my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the Letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. *Sander-son* before the happy Restoration of the King and Church of *England* to their several Rights; in one of which Letters more especially, he was pleas'd to give me a Narrative both of the rise, and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper Judgment, touching the famous Points controverted between the *Calvinians* and the *Ar-minians*, as they are commonly (though unjustly & unskilfully) mis-called on either side. The

### Dr. Pierce's Letter.

The whole Letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made publick long ago by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. *Hammond* (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the publick satisfaction, if he thought fit) in his excellent Book, intituled[ *A Pacifick Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson:* ] To which Discourse I referr you for an account of Dr. *Sanderson*, and the History of his Thoughts in his *own hand-writing*, wherein I sent it to *Westwood*, as I receiv'd it from *Boothby Pannel*. And although the whole Book (printed in the year 1660. and reprinted since with his other Tracts in Folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet for the Work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present, than from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 23<sup>th</sup> page, and as far as the end of p. 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

a Master of Arts. How his first reading of *learned Hooker* had been occasioned by certain *Puritanical Pamphlets*; and how good a *preparative* he found it for his reading of *Calvin's Institutions*, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his *Errors*. How he erred with *Mr. Calvin* (whilst he took things upon trust) in the *sublapsarian* way. How being chosen to be a *Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln*, 1625. He reduced the *Quinquarticular Controversie* into five *Schemes or Tables*; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the *Sublapsarian* way (of which he had before a better liking) as well as the *Supralapsarian*, which he could never phancy. There you will meet with his two weighty *Reasons against them both*; and find his happy change of *Judgment* to have been ever since the year 1625, even 34 years before the World either knew, or (at least) took notice of it. And more particularly

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

cularly his Reasons for *rejecting* Dr. *Twiss* (or the way *He* walks in) although his acute, and very learned and ancient Friend.

Sir, I pray note, That all that follows in the Italian Character, are Dr. *Sanderfon*'s own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant; and commend him as much, as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

\* I now proceed to let you know from Dr. *Sanderfon*'s own hand, which was never printed (and which

you can hardly know from any, unless from his Son, or from my self) That, when that Parliament was broken up, and the Convocation therewith dissolved, a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these Points, told him of a Book not long before published at *Paris* (A. D. 1623.) by a † *Arriba*. † Spanish Bishop, who had undertaken to clear the Differences in the great Controversie *De Concordiâ Gratiæ & Liberi Arbitrij*. And because his Friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the Book; he sent him one of them, containing the four first Books of twelve which he intended

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

intended then to publish. *When I had read* (says Dr. Sanderson in the following words of the same Letter) *his Epistle Dedicatory to the Pope* (Greg. 15.) *he spake so highly of his own Invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a Mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence, and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main Knot of the Business, other than had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the coexistence of all things past, present, and future in mente divinâ realiter ab æterno, which is the subject of his whole third Book; only he interpreteth the word realiter so, as to import not only præsentialitatem objectivam (as others held before him) but propriam & actualement existentiam. Yet confesseth 'tis hard to make this intelligible. In his fourth Book he endeavours to declare a twofold manner of God's working ad extra; the one sub ordine Prædestinationis,*  
of

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

of which Eternity is the proper measure; the other sub ordine Gratiae, whercof Time is the measure. And that God worketh fortiter in the one (though not irresistibiliter) as well as suaviter in the other, wherein the Freewill hath his proper working also. From the Result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this Opinion, That we must acknowledge the work of both (Grace and Freewill) in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the Consistency of the Infallibility of God's foreknowledge at least (though not with any absolute, but conditional Predestination) with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferiour causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the *tri*: But for the *quarta*, I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And so came the two Acta Synodalia Dordrechtana to stand in my Study, only to fill up a room to this day.

And yet see the restless curiosity of man.

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

man. Not many years after, to wit  
A. D. 1632. out cometh Dr. Twiss  
his *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*; a large Vo-  
lume purposely writ against Armini-  
us. And then notwithstanding my  
former resolution, I must needs be  
medling again. The respect I bore  
to his person and great learning, and  
the long acquaintance I had had  
with him in Oxford, drew me to  
the reading of that whole Book.  
But from the reading of it (for I  
read it through to a syllable) I went  
away with many and great dissa-  
tisfactions. Sundry things in that  
Book I took notice of, which brought  
me into a greater dislike of his Opi-  
nion than I had before. But especi-  
ally these three: First, that he bot-  
tometh very much of his Discourse  
upon a very erroneous Principle,  
which yet he seemeth to be so deeply  
in love with, that he hath repeated  
it (I verily believe) some hundreds  
of times in that work: to wit this,  
[That whatsoever is first in the in-  
tention is last in execution, and è  
converso.]

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

converso.] Which is an Error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder, how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All Logicians know, there is no such universal Maxim as he buildeth upon. The true Maxim is but this, Finis qui primus est in Intentione, est ultimus in Executione. In the order of final Causes, and the Means used for that end, the Rule holdeth perpetually: But in other things it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a Rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, foreseeing such Consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his Opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh Consequences, but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large Digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had undertaken to defend. Thirdly,

### Lincoln's Letter.

ly, that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary Sublapsarian way, and the Supralapsarian too, as it had diversly been declared by all that had gone before him (for the shunning of those Rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon) he was forced to seek out an untrodden Path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way (like a Spider's web wrought out of her own bowels) hoping by that device to salve all Absurdities could be objected; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed the chiefest, so) the only end of all of her his Decrees, and then making all those other Decrees to be but one entire coordinate Medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the Studium Partium to others, wherewith his own eyes  
○ (though

Dr. Pierce's Letter.

(though of eminent perversity) were so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern, how this his new Device, and his old dearly beloved Principle (like the Cadmean Sparti) do mutually destroy the one the other.

This Relation of my past thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give a shorter account of what they now are concerning these points.

For which account I referr you to the following parts of Dr. ~~Hammonds~~ Book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed. And for another account at large of Bishop Sanderfon's last Judgment concerning God's Concurrence or Non-concurrence with the Actions of men, and the positive entity of sins of commission, I referr you to his Letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my Impartial inquiry into the Nature of Sin. §. 68. p. 193. as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice

Dr. *Pierce's* Letter.

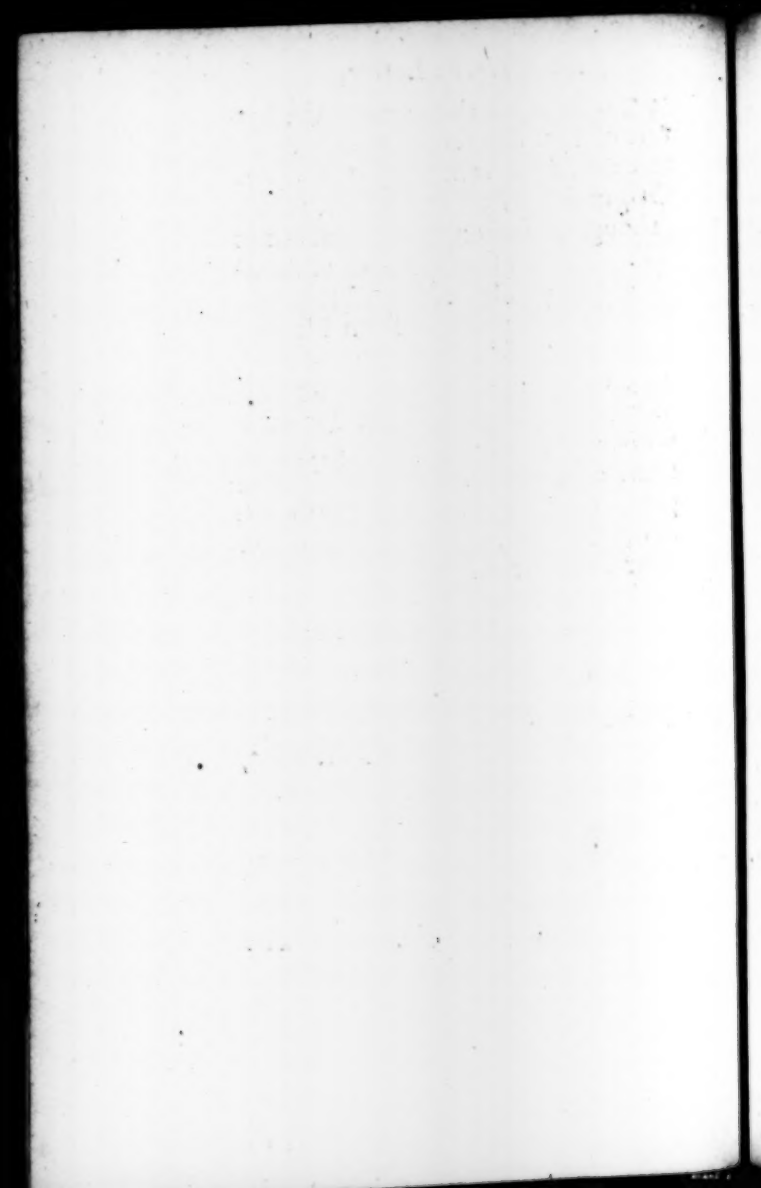
to transcribe all above out of the Letters of Dr. *Sanderſon* which lie before me, than venture the loſs of my Originals by Poſt or Carrier, which (though not often, yet) ſometimes fail. Make uſe of as much, or as little as you pleaſe, of what I ſend you from himſelf (becauſe from his own Letters to me) in the penning of his liſe, as your own Prudence ſhall direct you; uſing my name for your warrant in the account given of him, as much or as little as you pleaſe too. You have a performance of my promiſe, and an obedience to your deſires from

*Your affectionate*

*North-Tidworth,*  
*March 5. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

*humble Servant,*

Tho. Pierce.





THE  
BISHOP  
OF  
LINCOLN'S  
LETTER.

*My worthy Friend Mr. Walton,*

I Am heartily glad, that you have  
undertaken to write the Life  
of that excellent person, and  
(both for learning and piety)  
eminent Prelate, *Dr. Sanderfon*, late  
Bishop

## The Bishop of

Bishop of *Lincoln* ; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth : and sure I am , that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation , and the imitation of Posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work , you desire my assistance , that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of 20 years, and (in *Oxon*) to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious Instructions while he was *Regius Professor* of Divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time of our late unhappy confusions ) he left *Oxon*, and was retir'd into the Countrey, I had the benefit of his Letters ; wherein (with great candor and kindness ) he answered those doubts I propos'd, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater

*Lincoln's Letter.*

greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having (in a Letter) named two or three Books writ (*ex professo*) against the being of any original sin; and that *Adam* (by his fall) transmitted some calamity only, but no Crime to his Posterity; The good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seem'd to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any Error so contradictory to truth, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this Nation, both Sacred and Civil. I name not the Books, nor their Authors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known) because both *the Doctrine, and the unadvis'd Abettors of it are (and shall be) to me Apocryphal.*

## The Bishop of

† Rob. Boyle,  
Esq;

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an Argument of Dr. *Sanderſon's* Piety, great Ability and Judgment as a Casuiſt. Diſcourſing with an † honourable Perſon (whoſe Piety I value more than his Nobility and Learning, though both be great) about a Caſe of Conſcience concerning Oaths and Vows, their Nature and Obligation; in which (for ſome particular Reaſons) he then deſired more fully to be inform'd; I commended to him Dr. *Sanderſon's* Book *De Jramento*: which having read (with great ſatisfaction) he aſ'kd me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write Caſes of Conſcience, if he might have an honorary Penſion allow'd him, to furniſh him with Books for that purpoſe? I told him I believ'd he would: and (in a Letter to the Doctor) told him what great ſatisfaction that Honourable Perſon (and many more) had reaped by reading his Book  
De

*Lincoln's Letter.*

*De Juramento*; and ask'd him, whether he would be pleased (for the benefit of the Church) to write some Tract of Cases of Conscience? He reply'd, That he was glad that any had received any benefit by his Books: and added further, That if any future Tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seem'd to say his former had done, he would willingly (though without any Pension) set about that work. Having receiv'd this Answer, that honourable Person (before mention'd) did (by my hands) return 50 *l.* to the good Doctor (whose condition then (as most good mens at that time were) was but low) and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent Book *De Conscientiâ*. A Book little in bulk; but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent Reader may receive by it. For there are so many general Propositions concerning Conscience, the Nature and Ob-

### The Bishop of

Obligation of it, explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of Reason, that he who reads, remembers and can (with prudence) pertinently apply them *Hic & nunc* to particular Cases, may (by their light and help) rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of Conscience. Here you may see the charity of that Honourable Person in promoting, and the Piety and Industry of the good Doctor in performing that excellent work.

And here I shall add the Judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in *Oxon*, and read his publick Lectures in the Schools as *Regius Professor* of Divinity, and by the truth of his Positions, and evidences of his Proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers; especially in his clear Resolutions of all difficult Cases

*Lincoln's Letter.*

ses which occur'd in the Explication of the subject matter of his Lectures; a Person of Quality (yet alive) privately asked him, What course a young Divine should take in his Studies to inable him to be a good Casuist? His answer was, That a convenient understanding of the Learned Languages (at least of Hebrew, Greek and Latin) and a sufficient knowledge of Arts and Sciences presuppos'd; There were two things in humane Literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to inable a man to be a rational and able Casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible. 1. A convenient knowledge of Moral Philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the Nature of Humane Actions: To know, *quid sit actus humanus* (*spontaneus, invitus, mixtus*) *unde habent bonitatem & malitiam moralem? an ex genere & objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?*

How

## The Bishop of

How the variety of Circumstances varies the goodness or evil of humane Actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our Actions? For every Case of Conscience being only this — *Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* He who (in these) knows not how and whence humane Actions become morally good and evil, never can (*in Hypothesis*) rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular Action be so.

2. The second thing, which (he said) would be a great help and advantage to a Casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the Nature and Obligation of Laws in general: To know what a Law is; what a Natural and a Positive Law; what's required to the *Latitudo, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis*; what promulgation is antecedently required

*Lincoln's Letter.*

red to the Obligation of any Positive Law ; what ignorance takes off the Obligation of a Law , or does excuse , diminish or aggravate the transgression : For every Case of Conscience being only this ——— *Is this lawful for me , or is it not ?* and the Law the only Rule and Measure , by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any Action : It evidently follows , that he , who ( in these ) knows not the Nature and Obligation of Laws , never can be a good Casuist , or rationally assure himself ( or others ) of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Actions in particular. This was the Judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious Prelate ; and having ( by long experience ) found the truth and benefit of it , I conceive , I could not without ingratitude to him , and want of charity to others , conceal it. ——— Pray pardon this rude , and ( I fear ) im-

*Dr. Pierre's Letter.*

impertinent Scribble, which (if nothing else) may signifie thus much, that I am willing to obey your Desires, and am indeed

*Your affectionate*

*London, May 10.*  
*1678.*

*Friend,*

*Thomas Lincoln.*

## ERRATA.

*In the Preface,*  
Page the last, after that read L.

*In the Life,*  
P.20.l.5. for *renew*, r. *review*. p.26.l.16. for *warily*,  
r. *rarely*. p.30.l.13. for *relate*, r. *dilate*. p.37. l.11. for  
*cautious*, r. *conscious*. p.58.l.10. for *innate*, r. *innate*.  
p.63.l.5. for *predestination*, r. *predestinarian*. p.126.  
l.4. for *complying*, r. *complaining*. p.161.l.1. for *propo-*  
*sitions*, r. *prepossessions*.

This following piece is y<sup>e</sup> last of the  
nine cases of Conscience, & John G.  
B<sup>r</sup> Sanderson & printed 1685 under y<sup>e</sup>  
name of The case of y<sup>e</sup> Liberty.

Bishop *Sanderson's*

# JUDGMENT

Concerning

SUBMISSION

T O

**Ufurpers.**

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*L O N D O N,*

Printed for *Richard Marriott,*  
M DC LXXVIII.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

Billings 2nd ed.

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Bishop *Sanderſon's*

# JUDGMENT

Concerning

SUBMISSION

T O

USURPERS.

SIR,



HEREAS you deſire  
to know what my  
judgment and practice  
is concerning the u-  
ſing or forbearing the  
eſtabliſh'd Liturgy (either in whole,

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or

or in part) in the publick Service of God, and Office of the Church: If it be any satisfaction to your Friend, I shall fully acquaint you what my practice is (whereunto if my own Judgment be not conform, I am, without all excuse, my own condemner) and upon what considerations I have, according to the variation of the times, varied from my self therein.

So long as my Congregation continued unmixt with Souldiers, as well after as before the Promulgation of the Ordinance of the two Houses for the abolishing of the Common Prayer, I continued the use of it, as I had ever formerly done in the most peaceable and orderly times, not omitting those very Prayers, the silencing whereof I could not but know to have been chiefly aim'd at in the Ordinance (*viz.*) three for the King and Queen and Bishops; and so I did also though some Souldiers were casually present, till such time as a whole Troop coming to Quar-  
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ter in the Town (with a purpose to continue a kind of Garrison or Head-quarter among us) were so enrag'd at my reading of it the first Sunday after they came, that immediately after Morning Service ended, they seiz'd upon the Book, and tore it all in pieces. Thenceforward during their continuance there for full six months and upwards (*viz.*) from the beginning of *November* till they were call'd away to *Naseby* Fight in *May* following, besides that for want of a Book of necessity I must, I saw that it also behoov'd me, for the preventing of farther Outrages, to wave the use of the Book for the time, at least in the Ordinary Service; only I read the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, all the Versicles, and the Psalms for the day. Then after the first Lesson in the Forenoon *Benedictus* or *Jubilate*; and in the Afternoons *Cantate*. After the second Lesson also, sometimes the Creed, sometimes the Ten Commandements, and sometimes

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neither, but only sang a Psalm, and so to Sermon. But in all that while, in the Administration of the Sacraments, the Solemnization of Matrimony, Burial of Dead, and Churching of Women, I constantly used the ancient Forms and Rites to every of them respectively belonging, according to the appointment in the Book; only I was careful in all the rest to make choice of such times and opportunities as I might do them with most secrecie, and without disturbance of the Souldier. But at the Celebration of the Eucharist I was the more secure to do it publickly, because I was assur'd none of the Souldiers would be present.

After their departure I took the liberty to use either the whole Liturgy, or but some part of it, omitting sometimes more, sometimes less upon occasion, as I judg'd it most expedient in reference to the Auditory, especially if any Souldiers, or other unknown persons hapned to be present.

present. But all this while the substance of what I omitted I contriv'd into my Prayer before Sermon, the phrase and order only varied, which yet I endeavour'd to temper in such sort, that any person of ordinary capacity might easily perceive what my meaning was, and yet the words left as little liable to exception or cavil as might be.

About two years ago I was advertised (but in a friendly manner) by a Parliamentman of note in these parts, that at a publick Meeting at *Grantham*, great complaint was made by some Ministers of the Presbyterian Gang, as I afterwards found, of my refractoriness to obey the Parliaments Order in that behalf. The Gentleman told me withal, *That although they knew what my judgment and practice was, yet they were not forward to take notice of it before complaint made, which being now done in so publick a manner, if they should not take notice of it, the blame would lie upon them.* He therefore

advised me to consider well what I had to do, for I must resolve either to adventure the loss of my Living, or to lay aside Common Prayer; which if I should continue after complaint and admonition, it would not be in his power, nor in the power of any Friend I had to preserve me. The effect of my then Answer was, *That if the case were so, the deliberation was not hard: I having long ago considered of the case, and resolved what I might do with a good Conscience, and what was fittest for me in prudence to do, if I should ever be put to it (viz.) to forbear the use of the Common Prayer Book so far as might satisfy the letter of the Ordinance, rather than forsake my Station.*

My next business then was to be-  
think my self of such a course to be  
thenceforth held in the publick work  
in my own Parish, as might be be-  
lieved neither to bring danger to my  
self by the use, nor to give scandal  
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establiſh'd Liturgy. And the courſe was this, to which I have held me ever ſince.

I begin the Service with a Preface, and an Exhortation infer'd to make Confession of Sins; which Exhortation I have fram'd out of the Exhortation and Absolution in the Book, contracted and put together, and expreſt for the moſt part in the ſame words and phraſes, but purpoſely here and there tranſplac'd, that it might appear not to be, and yet to be the very ſame.

Then follows the Confession it ſelf in the ſame Order; it was enlarg'd only with the addition of ſome words, whereby it is rather explain'd than alter'd. The whole frame whereof, both for the fuller ſatisfaction in that particular, and that you may conjecture what manner of addition and change I have made proportionably hereunto (yet none ſo large) in other parts of the holy Office, I have here under-written,

O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy Servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy laws both in thought, word, and deed. We have many times left undone those good duties which we might and ought to have done, and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any Creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy, whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked. Have mercy upon us therefore, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable Offenders: Spare us good Lord who confess our faults, that we perish not, but according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu  
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our Lord, restore us upon our true Repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy Name, and the eternal comfort of our own Souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Confession the Lord's Prayer with the Versicles, and *Gloria Patri*, and then Psalms for the Day, and the first Lesson: After which in the Forenoon, sometimes *Te Deum*, (but then only when I think the Auditory will bear it) and sometimes an Hymn of mine own, gathered out of the Psalms and Church Collects, as a general Form of Thanksgiving (which I did the rather, because I have noted the want of such a Form as the only thing wherein the Liturgy seem'd to be defective). And in the Afternoon, after the first Lesson the 98th. Psalm, or the 67th. then the  
second

second Lesson, with *Benedictus* or *Jubilate*; after it in the Forenoon and Afternoon a singing Psalm. Then followeth the Creed, with *Dominus Vobiscum*; and sometimes the Versicles in the end of our Letany [*From our Enemies defend us*] if I lik'd my Auditory, otherwise I omit the Versicles. After the Creed, and instead of the Letany and the other Prayers appointed in the Book, I have taken the substance of the Prayer I was wont to make before Sermon, and dispos'd it into several Collects or Prayers, some longer and some shorter, but new modell'd into the language of the Common Prayer Book much more than it was before. And in the Pulpit, before Sermon I use only a short Prayer in reference to the hearing of the Word, and no more. So that upon the matter, in these Prayers I do but the same thing I did before, save only that what before I spake without Book, and in a continued Form in the Pulpit, I now read out of a written Book

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broken into parcels, and in the reading Desk or Pue. Between which Prayers and the singing Psalms before the Sermon, I do also daily use one other Collect, of which sort I have for the purpose compos'd sundry, made up also (as the former) for the most part out of the Church Collects, with some little enlargement or variation; as namely, the Collects Adventual, Quadragesimal, Paschal, or Pentecostal, for their proper seasons; and at other times Collects of a more general nature, as for Pardon, Repentance, Grace, &c. And after one or more of them in the Forenoon, I usually repeat the Ten Commandements, with a short Collect after them for Grace to enable us to keep them.

This hath been my practice, and is like still to be, unless some happy Change of Affairs restore us the liberty of using the old way again, or it be made appear to my Understanding by some able charitable Friend, That I therein have done  
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otherwise then I ought to have done : For I may say , that I have not yet met with any thing in Discourse , either with my own Reason or others , of sufficient strength to convince me that I have done any thing, but what may stand with the Principles as well of Christian Simplicity as Prudence.

There are but three things, that I know of, that are of any consideration oppos'd, *viz.*

1. The Obligation of the Laws.
2. The Scandal of the Example.
3. The unseemly symbolizing at least with Schismaticks, if not partaking with them in the Schism.

The first and strongest Objection ( which I shall therefore  
 1. Law.  
 Object. 1. propose to the most advantage of the Objector ) is that which is grounded upon the Laws , and their Obligation : For it may be Objected, *That every humane Law rightly*

rightly establish'd, so long as it continueth a Law, obligeth the Subject (and that for Conscience sake) to the observation thereof in such manner and form as in the same Law is prescribed, and according to the true meaning and intention of the Law-giver therein. That a Law is then understood to be rightly establish'd, when it containeth nothing but what is honest and lawful, and is enacted by such person or persons as have full and sufficient authority to make Laws. That a Law so establish'd continues a Law, and is so in force, till it be either Repealed by as good and lawful Authority, as that by which it was made, or else antiquated by a long continued uninforc'd disuse with the tacit or presumed consent of the Law-giver. That the Act printed before the Common Prayer Book, and entituled (An Act for the Uniformity) was such a Law, being it was established in a full and free Parliament in peaceable times, and ratified

*tified by the Royal Assent; That it still continues in force, and being not yet Repealed, but by such persons as (at least in the Opinion of those that maintain the Dispute) for want of the Royal Assent, have not a sufficient right or authority to do such an Act, nor disused but of late times, and that by enforcement, and as is presum'd, much against the mind of the Law-giver. That therefore it still retains the power of obliging in part of Conscience; that power being so essential and intrinsecal to every Law, quatenus a Law, that it can in no wise be sever'd from it.*

*And that therefore no Minister publickly officiating in the Church, can with a good Conscience either omit any part of that which is commanded by the aforesaid Law, or use any other Form than what is contained in the foresaid Book, but must either use the Form prescribed in the Book, or else forbear to officiate.*

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The Answer to this Objection (granting all in the Premises besides) dependeth upon the <sup>Ans.</sup> right understanding of that which is affirmed concerning the Obligation of the Laws according to the intention of the Law-giver; which if it should be understood precisely of that particular, actual, and immediate intention which the Law-giver had declared by the words of the Law (in which sense only the Objection proceedeth) will not hold true in all cases. But there is suppos'd besides that, in Law-giver, a more general, habitual, & ultimate intention of a more excellent and transcendent nature than the former, which is to have an influence into, and over-ruling power over all particular Laws (*viz.*) an intention by the Laws to procure and promote the publick good. The former intention binds, when it is subservient to the latter, or consistent with it, and consequently bindeth in ordinary cases, and in orderly times, or else

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the Law is not a wholesome Law. But when the observation of the Law, by reason of the conjuncture of circumstances, or the iniquity of the times (contingencies which no Lawgiver could either certainly foresee, or if foreseen, sufficiently provide against) would rather be prejudicial than advantageous to the Publick; or is manifestly attended with such inconveniencies and sad consequents to the Observers, as all the imaginable good that can redound to the Publick thereby, cannot in any reasonable measure counter-vail: In such case the Law obligeth not, but according to the latter and more general intention only; even as in the operations of nature, particular Agents do ordinarily move according to their proper and particular inclinations; yet upon some occasions, and to serve the ends and intentions of universal nature (for the avoiding of some things which nature abhors) they are sometimes carried with motions quite contrary to their  
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their particular natures; as the Air to descend, and the Water to ascend for the avoiding of vacuity, &c. The common received Maxim (which hath been sufficiently misapplied, and that sometimes to very ill purposes since the beginning of these unhappy divisions) in the true meaning of it looketh this way, *Salus populi suprema Lex*: the equity of which Maxim, as it leaveth in the Law-giver a power of dispensing with the Law (which is a suspending the Obligation thereof for the time in respect of the proper and particular intention) so he shall see it expedient in order to the publick good; so it leaveth in the Subject a liberty upon just occasions (as in cases of great exigency, and for the preventing of such hazards and inconveniencies as might prove of noy- some consequence to the Publick) to do otherwise than the Law requir- eth. And neither is the exercise of that power in the Lawgiver to be thought an unreasonable Preroga-

tive, nor the use of this liberty in the Subject an unreasonable presumption; inasmuch as the power of dispensing with particular Laws is such a Prerogative, as without which no Commonwealth can be well govern'd, but Justice would be turn'd into Gall and Wormwood: Nor can the Supream Governour, without forfeiture of that faithfulness which he oweth to the Publick Weal, de-vest himself thereof.

And he that presumeth of the Law-givers consent to dispense with him for the Observation of the Law in such needful cases (where he hath not the opportunity to consult his pleasure therein) presumeth no more than he hath reason to do. For it may well be presum'd that the Law-giver, who is bound in all his Laws to intend the safety of the Publick, and of every member thereof in his due proportion, hath no intention by the strict observation of any particular Law, to oblige any person, who is a Member of the Publick, to his

his destruction or ruin, when the common good is not answerably promoted thereby: Upon which ground it is generally resolv'd by Casuists, That no Constitution (meerly humane) can lay such Obligation upon the Conscience of the Subject, but that we may (according to the exigency of circumstances) do otherwise than the Constitution requireth, provided it be done *extra casum scandali & contemptus, i. e.* without either bewraying in himself any contempt of the Authority of the Law-giver by his carriage, or giving any just occasion of scandal to others by his example in so doing.

I have been somewhat the longer in explaining this point, not only for the better clearing of the present doubt, but also in respect of the usefulness of this consideration for the preventing and removing of many scruples that may happen to conscientious men in such times as these, wherein so many things are (and are like to be) commanded and forbid-

den contrary to the establish'd Laws, and those (as they are perswaded) yet standing in force. The best rule that I know to guide men in their deliberations and actions in such emergent cases (according to what hath been already delivered) is advisedly and impartially to weigh the benefit & inconveniencies, as well on the one side, as on the other, as they stand in relation unto the Publick Good; and if after such examination and comparison made, it shall then evidently (or but in the judgment of probability) appear, that the Observation of the Law, according to the proper intention of the Law-giver therein, though with hazard of Estate, Liberty, or even life it self, hath a greater tendency to the Publick Good, and the preservation of Church or Commonwealth in safety, peace, and order, than the preventing of the foresaid hazards, or other evil consequents, by doing otherwise than the Law requireth, can have; or (which cometh to one)

one) if the violating of the Law shall then appear to be more prejudicial to the Publick Good, than the preservation of the Subject's Estate, Liberty, or Life can be beneficial hereunto: In such case the Subject is bound to hazard all he hath, and undergo whatsoever inconveniencies and calamities can ensue thereupon, rather than violate the Law with contempt of that Authority to which he oweth subjection.

But if it shall (after such comparison made) evidently (or but more probably than the contrary) appear, That that preservation of such a persons Life, Liberty, Estate, would more benefit the Church or Commonwealth, than the punctual observation of the Law at that time, and with those circumstances, would do; it were an unseasonable, unreasonable, and pernicious scrupulosity for such a person to think himself in such a case obliged for the observing of the Law (perhaps but once or twice) with little or no benefit to the

Publick, to ruin himself, whereby to render himself unuseful and unserviceable to the Publick for ever hereafter.

To bring this Discourse home, and to apply it to the business now under dispute. Suppose we ten, twenty, or One hundred godly Ministers, well affected to the establish'd Liturgy, and actually possess'd of Benefices, with the Charge of Souls thereto belonging, should, thinking themselves in Conscience obliged to the use of the whole Form of the Book, as is by the Act appointed, without any addition, omission, or alteration whatsoever (notwithstanding the present conjuncture of Affairs) resolve to use the same accordingly, it would be well considered what the effects and consequents thereof would be.

Besides other evils, these three are visible, which must all unavoidably follow one upon another, if any body shall be found (as doubtless within short time there will be found one or

or other) to inform and prosecute against them.

1. The utter undoing of so many worthy persons, fit to do God and his Church good service, together with all those persons that depend upon them for their livelyhood, by putting the fruits of their Benefices, wherewith they should buy themselves bread, under Sequestration.

2. The depriving of those persons of the opportunity of discharging the duties that belong unto them in their Ministerial Calling, in not permitting them, after such Sequestration, to teach or instruct the people belonging to their Charge, or to exercise any thing of their Function publickly in the Church.

3. The delivering over the Sheep of Christ, that lately were under the hands of the faithful Shepherds, into the Custody of ravenous Wolves, when such Guides shall be set over the several Congregations, as will be sure to mis-teach them one way

way or other (*viz.*) either by instilling into them Puritanical and Superstitious Principles, that they may the more securely exercise their Presbyterian Tyranny over their Judgments, Consciences, Persons, and Estates, or else by setting up new Lights before them, to lead them into a maze of Anabaptistical confusion and frenzy.

These consequents are so heavy to the Sufferers, so certain to ensue upon the use of Common Prayer, and so much without the power of the Law-givers (in this state of Affairs) either to prevent or remedy, that it is beyond the wit of man what benefit to the Publick can accrue by the strict observation of the Act, that may in any proportion countervail these mischiefs. In which case, that man must needs suppose a strange austerity in the Law-giver, that dares not presume of his consent to disoblige him (for the time) from observing the same. It would be also well considered, Whether he that  
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by his own over-nice scrupulosity runs all these hazards, be not (in some measure) guilty of his own undoing, of deserting his station, and of betraying his flock, and do not thereby lose much of that comfort which a Christian Confessor may take in his sufferings, when they are laid upon him by the Hand of God, and not pull'd upon himself by his own hands. And more I shall not need to say as to that first Objection.

The next thing objected is, Object 2. Scandal.  
*The danger of the Scandal that others might be ready to take at the Example, who seeing the Law so little regarded by such men (men that have Cure of Souls, and perhaps also of some eminency and esteem in the Church, and whose Example will be much look'd upon) will be easily encourag'd by this Example to set light by all Authority, and to take the liberty to obey and disobey the Laws of their Sovereign at their pleasure.*

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But this Objection, after we are once ſatisfied concerning the former, need not much trouble us. For,

1. It ſeemeth an unreaſonable thing in caſes of great Exigence (ſuch as we now ſuppoſe) that the fear of ſcandalizing our weak Brethren (which is but *Debitum charitatis* only) ſhould lay upon us a peremptory neceſſity of obſerving the Law punctually, whatſoever inconveniencies and miſchiefs may enſue thereupon: when the duty of Obedience to our known Governours (which is *Debitum juſtitiae* alſo, and therefore more Obligatory than the other) doth not impoſe that neceſſity upon us; as hath been already ſhewn.

2. Beſides, Arguments drawn from Scandal in things neither unlawful nor (ſetting the reaſon of Scandal aſide) inexpedient, as they are ſubject to ſundry frailties otherwiſe, ſo they are manifeſtly of no weight at all, when they are counterpoiſ'd with the apparent danger  
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of evil consequents on the other side. For in such cases there is commonly equal danger (if not rather something more) of Scandal to be taken from the Example the quite contrary way. We may see it in debating the point now in hand: It is alledged on the one side, That by laying aside the use of the Common Prayer, men that are over scrupulous will be encourag'd to take a greater liberty in dispensing with the Laws (to the despising both of Laws and Governours) than they ought. And why may it not, by the same reason, be as well alledg'd on the other side, That by holding up a necessity of using the Common Prayer, men that have tender Consciences may be induc'd to entertain scruples (to their utter undoing, and to the destruction of their people) when they need not?

3. But that in the third place, which cometh up home to the business, and taketh off the Objection clearly, is this, That in judging Cases  
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ses of Scandal, we are not so much to look to the event, what it is, or may be, as to the cause, whetice it cometh. For sometimes there is given just cause of Scandal; and yet no Scandal followeth, because it is not taken: Sometimes scandal is taken, and yet no just cause given: and sometimes there is both cause of Scandal given, and Scandal taken thereat. But no man is concern'd at any Scandal that happeneth to another by occasion of any thing done by him, neither is chargeable with it farther than he is guilty of having given it. If then we give Scandal to others, and they take it not, the whole guilt is ours, and they are faultless. If we give it, and they take it, we are to bear a share in the blame as they, and that a deep share; (*Væ homini, Wo to the man by whome the offence cometh, Matth. 18.7.*) But if they take offence when we give none, it is a thing we cannot help, and therefore the whole blame must lie upon them.

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Wherefore, if at any time any doubt shall arise in that Case of Scandal, How far forth the danger thereof may oblige us to the doing or not doing of any thing propos'd; The Resolution will come on much the easier, if we shall but rightly understand what it is to give Scandal, or how many ways a man may become guilty of scandalizing another by his Example.

The ways (as I conceive) are but these four.

1. When a man doth something before another, which is in it self evil, unlawful, and sinful. In which case, neither the intention of him that doth it, nor the event as to him that seeth it done, is of any consideration: For it matters not whether the doer hath an intention to draw the other into sin, or not; the very matter and substance of the action being evil, and done before others, is sufficient to render the doer guilty of having given Scandal, though neither he had intention himself so  
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to do, nor was any other person actually scandaliz'd thereby: because whatsoever is in its own nature evil, is of it self, and in its own nature scandalous, and of ill Example.

Thus did *Hophni* and *Phineas*, the Sons of *Eli*, give Scandal by their wretched prophane-  
2 Sam. 2. 17. 22. ness and greediness about the

Sacrifices of the Lord, and their shameless abusing the Women. And so did *David* also give great Scandal in the matter of *Uriah*, 2 Sam. 12.

14. Here the Rule is,

*Do nothing that is evil, for fear of giving Scandal.*

2. The second way is, when a man doth something before another with a direct intention and formal purpose of drawing him thereby to commit sin. In which case neither the matter of the action, nor the event is of any consideration: For it makes no difference as to the sin of giving Scandal; whether any man be effectually entic'd to commit sin or not thereby; neither doth it make any

any difference, whether the thing done were in it self unlawful, or not, so as it had an appearance of evil, and from thence an aptitude to draw another by the doing of that (by imitation) which should be really and intrinsically evil. The wicked intention alone (whatsoever the effect should be, or what means soever should be us'd to promote it) sufficeth to induce the guilt of giving Scandal upon the doer. This was *Jeroboam's* sin, in setting up the Calves, with a formal purpose and intention thereby (for his own secular and ambitious ends) to corrupt the purity of Religion, and to draw the people unto Idolatrous Worship. For which cause he is so often stigmatiz'd with it, as a note of Infamy, to stick by him whilst the World lasteth, being scarce ever mention'd in the Scripture, but with this addition, *Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin.* Here the Rule is,

*Do nothing, good or evil, with an intention to give Scandal.*

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3. The third way is when a man doth something before another, which in it-self is not evil, but indifferent, and so according to the Rule of Christian Liberty, lawful for him to do, or not to do, as he shall see cause (yea, and perhaps otherwise commodious and convenient for him to do) yet whereas he probably foreseeth that others will take Scandal, and be occasioned thereby to do evil. In such a case, if the thing to be done be not in some degree prudentially necessary for him to do, but that he might, without very great inconvenience or prejudice to himself or any third person, leave it undone : He is bound in Charity to his Brother's Soul (for whom Christ died) and for the avoiding of Scandal, to abridge himself in the exercise of his Christian Liberty for that time, so far as rather to suffer some inconvenience himself by the not doing of it, than by the doing of it to cause his Brother to offend. The very Case which is so often, so largely, and so earnestly in-

insisted upon by St. Paul. See Rom. 14.13,21. Rom.15.1,3. 1 Cor.8.7,13. 1 Cor.9.12,15,19,22. 1 Cor.10.23,33. Here the Rule is,

*Do nothing that may be reasonably forbore, whereat Scandal will be taken.*

4. The last way is, when a man doth something before another, which is not only lawful, but (according to the exigencies of present Circumstances) *pro hic & nunc* very behoofful, and even prudentially necessary for him to do, but foreseeing that the other will be like to make an ill use of it, and take encouragement thereby to commit sin, if he be not withal careful, as much as possibly in him lieth, to prevent the Scandal that may be taken thereat: For, *Qui non prohibet peccare, cum potest, jubet.* In such case the bare neglect of his Brother, and not using his utmost endeavour to prevent the evil that might ensue, maketh him guilty. Upon which consideration standeth the Equity of the Judicial Law

Exod. 21.  
33, 34

given to the Jews, which ordered, That in case a man dig a Pit for the use of his Family, and looking no farther than his own convenience, put no cover upon it, and leave it open, whereby it hapneth his Neighbours Beast to fall thereinto and perish, the owner of the Pit is to make it good, inasmuch as he was the occasioner of that loss to his Neighbour, which he might and ought to have prevented. Here the Rule is

*Order the doing of that, which may not be well left undone, in such sort that no Scandal (so far as you can help it) may be taken thereat.*

To apply this. The thing under debate, viz. the Action propos'd to present enquiry is, The laying aside the Common Prayer, being enjoyn'd by Law, and using instead thereof some other Form of Church Service of our own devising. And the Enquiry concerning it is, Whether it may be done with a good Conscience in

in regard of the Scandal that is given, or at least may be taken thereat, Yea or No?

Now forasmuch as in this Enquiry we take it for granted, That the thing to be done is not in its own nature simply evil, but rather in this state of affairs prudentially necessary; and that they who make scruple at it upon the point of Scandal, have not the least intention of drawing other of the Laws into contempt, or their Brethren into sin by their Example. It is manifest that three of the now mention'd Cases, with the Rules to each of them appending, are not pertinent to the present Enquiry. But since the last of the four only proveth to be our Case, we have therefore no more to do for the settling of our Judgments, and quieting of our Consciences, and the regulating of our Practice in this Affair, than to consider well what the Rule in this Case given obligeth us unto; which is not to leave the Action undone for the danger of Scandal,

which ( besides the Inconveniencies formerly mention'd ) would but start new Questions, and those beget more to the multiplying unnecessary Scruples *in infinitum*: But to order the doing of it so, that ( if it were possible ) no Scandal at all might ensue thereupon, or at leastwise not by our default, through our careless or undiscreef managery thereof. Even as the Jew that stood in need to sink a Pit for the Service of his House or Ground, was not ( for fear his Neighbours Beast should fall into it, and be drown'd ) bound by the Law to forbear the making of it, but only to provide a sufficient cover for it, where he had made it. The thing then in this Case is not to be left undone, when it so much behoveth us to do it; but the Action to be carried on ( for the manner of doing, and in all respects and circumstances thereunto belonging ) with so much chariness and tenderness, moderation and wisdom ( to our best understanding ) that the necessity of our so doing, with the true cause

cause thereof, may appear to the World, to the satisfaction of those that are willing to take notice of it; and that such persons as would be willing to make use of our Ensamble to do the same thing, where there is not the same necessity, may do it upon their own score, and not be able to vouch our practice for their excuse; which how it may be best done for particular directions, every charitable and conscientious man must ask his own discretion. Some general helps thereunto I shall lay down in answering the next Objection, where they would fall in again not improperly, and so stop two Gaps with one Bush.

The last Objection is that Object. 3. Schism. of Schism. The Objectors hold all such persons as have oppos'd either Liturgy or Church Government, as they were by Law establish'd within this Realm, for no better than Schismatics; and truly I shall not much gain-say it. But then they argue, *That for them to do the*  
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same thing in the publick worship of God that Schismatics do (and for doing whereof especially it is that they avow them Schismatics) would (as they conceive) involve them in the Schism also, as partakers thereof in some degree with the other: And their Consciences also would, from Rom. 14.22. condemn them either of hypocrisie, in allowing that in themselves, and in their own practice, which they condemn in others; or of uncharitableness, in judging others as Schismatics for doing but the same thing which they can allow themselves to practise. For all that such persons, as they call Schismatics, do in this matter of the Church Service, is but to leave out the Churches Prayers, and to put in their own. Or say, this should not make them really guilty of the Schism they so much detest, yet would such their symbolizing with them seem at least a kind of unworthy compliance with them, more than could well become the simplicity of a Christian,

Rian, much less of a Minister of the Gospel, whose duty it is to <sup>1 Thess. 5.</sup> shun even the least appearance of evil. Besides, that by so doing they should but confirm such men in their Schismatical Principles and Practice.

This Objection hath 3 Branches. To the first whereof I oppose the old saying, *Duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem*; which, although spoken quite to another purpose, yet is very capable of such a sense which will very well fit our present purpose also.

I Answer therefore in short. To do the same thing that Schismatics do (especially in times of Confusion, and till things can be reduc'd unto better Order, and when men are necessitated thereunto to prevent greater mischiefs) doth not necessarily infer a partaking with them in Schism, no, nor so much as probably, unless it may appear upon probable presumption otherwise, that it is done out of the same Schismatical

cal Spirit, and upon such Schismatical Principles as theirs are.

The other two Branches (*viz.* That of seeming compliance with Schismatics, and That of the ill use they make of it to confirm them in their Schism) do upon the matter fall in upon the aforesaid point of Scandal, and are in effect but the same Objection, only put into a new dress, and so have receiv'd their Answer already. And the only remedy against both these Fears (as well that of Scandal, as this of Schism) is the same which was there prescrib'd, Even to give assurance to all men, by our carriage and behaviour therein, that we do not lay aside Common Prayer of our own accord, or out of any dislike thereof, neither in contempt of our rightful Governours, or of the Laws, nor out of any base compliance with the Times, or unworthy Secular own ends, nor out of any Schismatical principles, seditious designs, or innovating humour; but meerly enforc'd thereunto

to by such a necessity, as we cannot otherwise avoid in order to the Glory of God, and the Publick Good, for the preservation of our Families, our Flocks, and our Functions: And that with the good leave and allowance (as we have great reason to believe) of such as have power to dispense with us and the Laws in that behalf.

This if we shall do *bonâ fide*, and with our utmost endeavours, in singleness of heart, and with godly discretion, perhaps it will not be enough to prevail with either the censure of inconsiderate and inconsiderable persons, or the ill use that may be made of our Example, through the ignorance or negligence of some (*scandalum pusillorum*) or through the perverseness and malice of others (*scandalum pharisæorum*) as the Schools term them: But assuredly it will be sufficient in the sight of God, and the witness of our own hearts, and to the Consciences of charitable and considering men,

to

to acquit us clear of all guilt, either of Scandal or Schiſm in the leaſt degree. Which we may probably do by obſerving theſe enſuing, or ſuch other like general Directions (The liberty of uſing ſuch meet accommodations, as the circumſtances in particular Caſes ſhall require, evermore allowed and reſerved). *viz.*

1. If we ſhall decline the company and ſociety of known Schiſmatics, not converſing frequently or familiarly with them, or more than the neceſſary affairs of life, and the rules of Neighbourhood and common civility will require; eſpecially not to give countenance unto their Church Aſſemblies, by our preſence among them, if we can avoid it.

2. If we ſhall retain, as well in common diſcourſe, as in our Sermons and holy Offices of the Church, the old Theological and Eccleſiaſtical terms and forms of Speech, which have been generally received and uſed in the Churches of Chriſt, which the people are well acquainted

ed with, and are wholesome and significant, and not follow our new Masters in that uncouth affected garb of Speech, or Canting Language rather (if I may so call it) which they have of late taken up, as the signal distinction and characteristical note of that, which in that their new Language they call The Godly Party, or Communion of Saints.

3. If in officiating we repeat not only the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the ten Commandements, and such other passages in the Common Prayer Book, as ( being the very words of Scripture ) no man can except against; but so much of the old Liturgy besides, in the very words and syllables of the Book, as we think the Ministers of State in those parts wherein we live will suffer, and the Auditory, before whom we officiate, will bear; sith the Officers in all parts of the Land are not alike strict, nor the people in all Parishes alike disaffected in this respect.

4. If, where we must of necessity  
vary

vary from the words, we yet follow the Order of the Book in the main parts of the holy Offices, retaining the substance of the Prayers, and embellishing those of our own making, which we substitute into the place of those we leave out, with phrases and passages taken out of the Book in other places.

5. If, where we cannot safely mention the Particulars mentioned in the Book (as namely in praying for the King, the Queen, the Royal Progeny, and the Bishops) we shall yet use in our Prayers some such general terms, and other intimations devised for that purpose, as may sufficiently convey to the understanding of the people what our intentions are therein, and yet not be sufficient to fetch us within the compass of the Ordinance.

6. If we shall in our Sermons take occasion now and then, where it may be pertinent, either to discover the weakness of the Puritan Principles and Tenets to the people; or to shew out

out of some passages and expressions in the Common Prayer, the consonancy of those Observations we have raised from the Text, with the Judgment of the Church of *England*: or to justify such particular passages in the Letany, Collects, and other parts of our Liturgy as have been unjustly quarell'd at by Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, or other (by what Name or Title soever they are called) Puritan Sectaries.

*Thus have I freely acquainted you both with my practice and judgment in the Point propos'd in your Friend's Letter. How I shall be able to satisfy his or your judgment in what I have written, I know not; however, I have satisfied both your desire and his in writing, and shall rest*

Your Brother and

Servant in the  
Lord,

*Rob. Sanderfon.*



# P A X Ecclesiæ.

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BY THE  
RIGHT REVEREND  
FATHER in GOD  
ROBERT SANDERSON,  
L A T E  
*Lord Bishop of Lincoln.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed for Richard Marriott, 1678.

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# P A X

## ECCLESIAE.

**A**LL the Decrees of God are eternal, and his Counsels therein unsearchable. In Eternals there is neither *prius*, nor *posterius*; and *ergo* considered in themselves, and as they are in God, all the Decrees of God concerning the whole course of man's salvation, are *simul & semel*; and because eternal, *ergo* alio coeternal. Yet considered either in regard of their Objects, or respectively to our

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apprehensions, there must some order be conceived among them, whereby one may be said to be before or after another *ordine nature*, & *ordine intelligendi*. For as in order of nature the intention of the end is before the deliberation concerning the means, the causes before the effect, the subject before the properties and accidents, &c. so we are not able to conceive of the Decrees of God, unless we rank them in some such order, as seemeth most agreeable to the condition of their proper objects; as *ex. gr.* those wherein the end, or cause, or subject is decreed, to be *ordine intelligendi* before these, wherein are decreed the means, effects, or accidents. But because the Counsels of God herein are incomprehensible and unsearchable to our weak and finite understandings, it hence cometh to pass,

1. That they who have the greatest serenity of natural understanding, and the largest measure of Divine Re-

Revelation withal, must yet confess the unfathomed depth of the judgments and ways of God, which are *abyssus multa*, rather to be admired than searched into; so as they are not to hope or look after such a way of opening these Mysteries, as shall be *quietativa intellectus*, so totally and absolutely, but that some difficulties will still remain, to make us cry out with St. Paul, *O altitudo!* Otherwise these great and hidden Mysteries of God should be no Mysteries.

2. That men, who cannot content themselves to be wise according to sobriety, whilst they have thought by searching into the Counsels of God, to bring the Mysteries of Faith within the comprehension of Reason, have become vain in their imaginations, and enwrapped themselves unawares in perplexed and inextricable difficulties: for the unwinding themselves where-from, they have been afterwards sometimes driven to devise and maintain strange

Opinions, of very perillous and noy-  
some consequence, which hath been  
the original of most Heresies and  
Schisms in the Church.

3. That men also of sober Under-  
standings, & keeping within the due  
Bounds of their Gifts and Callings,  
yet by reason of the great difficul-  
ties of the things themselves, have  
much differed, and still will do in  
their Judgments and Opinions one  
from another, in the ordering of  
God's Decrees concerning man's  
Salvation, each man abounding in  
his own sense, and following that way  
which seemeth to him clogged with  
the least and fewest difficulties, ac-  
cording as he apprehendeth them;  
although perhaps *in rei veritate*, or  
at the least in the apprehension of  
another man, those very difficulties  
may be more and greater. Hence  
the many differences among the  
Protestants, between *Lutherans* and  
*Calvinists*; among the *Romanists*  
between the *Jesuites* and *Domini-  
cans*; and each of these again sub-  
divided;

divided; concerning Predestination and Reprobation; the power of man's Free-will; the necessity, efficacy, and extent of Divine Grace; the concurrence of Grace with Free-will; the universality and application of Christ's Death, and some other Points of like nature.

The Premises considered, that amid, and notwithstanding all this variety of Opinions, there may yet be preserved in the Church the unity both of Faith and Charity, these few things seem to me to be of profitable and important consideration.

1. That particular Churches would be as tender as may be in giving their definitions and determinations in such Points as these; not restricting those that live therein determinately either to the affirmative or negative, especially where there may be admitted a latitude of dissenting without any prejudice done either to the Substance of the Catholick Faith, or to the Tranquilli-

ty of the Church, or to the Salvation of the Dissenter. In which respect the moderation of the Church of *England* is much to be commended, and to be preferred, not only before the *Roman* Church, which with unsufferable tyranny bindeth all her Children, upon pain of Damnation, to all her Determinations, even in those Points, which are no way necessary to Salvation; but also before sundry other Reformed Churches, who have proceeded further this way than our Church hath done.

2. When by reason of the important contentions and wranglings of Learned men in particular Churches, about Points yet undetermined therein, differences shall be so far prosecuted, as to come to open sideings, and part-takings, and factions (as it happened in the *Netherland* Churches between the *Remonstrantes*, & *Contra-Remonstrantes*) so as for the composing of the differences, and the maintenance of the publick

publick Peace and Tranquillity of the Church ; it shall be needful for those Churches Synodically to determine something in those Points ; that yet they would then also proceed no farther in their determinations, than the present necessity should enforce them ; not requiring men ( specially in points of lesser consequence ) to give, and by Oath, subscription, or other like means, to witness their express positive assent to such determinations ; but permitting them to enjoy their own private Opinions in their own private Bosoms, so long as they keep them to themselves, and do not by venting them unseasonably, disquiet the peace of the Church therewithal.

3. That Catechisms, for so much as they are intended for the instruction of Children and ignorant persons in the first Principles of Christian Religion, should not be farced with School-points and private Terepots ; but contain only clear and undoubted

doubted Truths, and such as are necessary unto Christian Edification either in Faith or Life: The rest either altogether omitted, or but occasionally and sparingly touched at, and not positively, and doctrinally, and conclusively delivered before the Church have agreed upon them.

4. That private men would endeavour for so much ingenuity, as

1. To other mens speeches and writings (especially where they intend to discourse but *exoterice* and popularly, not accurately and *dogmaticè*) to afford a favourable construction, without taking advantage at some excesses *in modo loquendi*, or exceptions at some improprieties and acyrologies, so long as they are Orthodox in the main Substance of their Discourse.

2. Not to obtrude any Tenet, as the received Doctrine of any particular Church, which either is not expressly contained in the publick Confession of that Church, or doth  
not

not apparently result thence by direct and immediate consequence; though the wit of man make it seem at length, and by continuance of discourse to be probably deduced therefrom.

3. In their own Writings to observe *formam sanorum verborum*, and to abstain not only from suspected Opinions, but as much as may be also from phrases and speeches obnoxious to ill construction. For first it is not enough, much less a thing to be gloried in, for a man to be able by subtilty of wit to find loopholes how to evade, and by colourable pretences to make that, which through heat of passion, or violence of opposition hath fallen from him unadvisedly, to seem howsoever defensible: but he should have a care to suffer nothing to pass from him, whereat an ingenuous and dispassionate Adversary, though dissenting from him in Opinion, should yet have cause to take distaste or exception. And besides, it were a thing  
of

of very dangerous consequence in the Church, if every man should be suffered freely to publish whatsoever might by some strain of Wit be made capable of a good construction, if of it self it sounded ill and suspiciously: For so Notions of Popish, or Puritanical, or other Heretical, Schismatical Opinions might unawares be conveyed into the minds, and impressions thereof insensibly wrought in the hearts of men, to the great damage of the Church, and prejudice to the Truth.

4. To acknowledge freely, and readily to revoke whatsoever either error *in re*, or misprision *in testimonio*, or exorbitancy *in modo loquendi*, hath passed from their Pen, when it shall be fairly shewed them, and their Judgments convinced thereof, rather than to seek to relieve themselves by excuses, colours, or evasions,

5. That

§. That private men in particular Churches, who dissent in points yet undetermined by the Church, should not uncharitably entercharge each other with Heresie or Schism, or any such like imputation for so dissenting, so long as they both consent to the whole Doctrine and Discipline in the said Church maintained and established. As *ex. gr.* in the Points now so much debated among the Divines of the Church of *England* between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians* (for I must take liberty for distinctions sake to express them by those names they usually bestow the one upon the other) Why should either those men on the one side be branded with Popery, who misliking *Calvin's* Opinion, rather chuse to follow the *Arminian*; or those on the other side with Puritanism, who finding less satisfaction in the way of *Arminius*, rather adhere to *Calvin*? so long as both the one and the other do entirely, and freely, and *ex animo* subscribe to the Articles of the

the Common Prayer Book, and that of Consecration, and do not rent the Unity, or disturb the Peace of the Church by those differences.

## II. *Periculum Schismatis.*

Forasmuch as here in *England* the differences, which before were but private concerning the Points of *Arminianism*, have been of late so far brought upon the publick Stage, by occasion of the passages betwixt Mr. *Mountague* and his Opposers, as that a dangerous Schism is like to ensue thereupon, unless by the goodness of God, and the Wisdome of the Church and State, it be speedily prevented: Those general Directions now already laid down for the preservation of the Churches Peace, will not reach home for the securing of our peace, and preventing farther evils, as the case now standeth with us; but it is needful the Church  
should

should interpose herein, both by farther Explanation of her Doctrine in the points questioned, and by the Exercise of her Discipline upon such persons as will not rest in her determinations. And this necessity will the more appear, if we consider upon what advantages the *Arminian* party hath, and yet doth gain strength to it self, *viz.*

1. The weakness of sundry of those Exceptions, which were taken at Mr. *Mountague's* Answer to the *Gagge*, by those that first openly engaged themselves for that business; which hath not only brought prejudice to their persons, but also given disadvantage to the Cause, even in those Exceptions which were just and material.

2. The publishing of Mr. *Mountague's* Appeal with Allowance, which both hath given confidence to sundry, who before were *Arminians*, but in secret, now to walk unmasked, and to profess their Opinions publickly in all Companies,  
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and that with some disdain of opposition; and doth also encourage sundry others to shew an inclination to that side, which they see to be countenanced in such publick sort.

3. The plausibleness of *Arminianism*, and the congruity it hath in sundry Points with the Principles of corrupt Nature, and of carnal Reason. For it is a wonderful tickling to flesh and blood, to have the powers of Nature magnified, and to hear it self flattered, as if she carried the greatest stroke in the work of Salvation; especially when these soothingings are conveyed under the pretence of vindicating the dispensations of God's Providence from the Imputation of Injustice.

4. The harshness of that Opinion which *Calvin* and *Beza* are said to have held, and many Learned men in our Church are said to have followed, concerning the Decrees of Reprobation and Election, without respect had to *Adam* in the one, or to *Christ* in the other; whereas the in-

Inconveniencies, which either do ensue, or seem to ensue upon that Opinion, may be fairly waved another way, and yet without Arminianism.

5. The manifold cunning of the *Arminians* to advance their own party, as *viz.*

1. In pleading for a liberty for every man to abound in his own sense in things undetermined by the Church, that so they may spread their own Tenets the more freely; whereas yet it is too apparent by their writings and speeches, that their intent and endeavour is to take the benefit of this liberty themselves, but not to allow it to those that dissent from them.

2. In bragging out some of their private Tenets, as if they were the received established Doctrine of the Church of *England*, by forcing the words of the Articles or Common Prayer Book to a sense, which appeareth not to have been intended therein, as Mr. *Mountague* hath  
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done in the Point of falling from grace. Whereas the contrary Tenet, *viz.* of the final perseverance of the righteous in grace and faith, may be by as strong evidence every way, and by as natural deducement collected out of the said Books, as shall be easily proved, if it be required.

3. In seeking to derive envy upon the opposite Opinions, by delivering them in terms odious, and of ill and suspicious sound; as *viz.* irresistibility of grace, irrespective decree, &c. whereas the soberer Divines of the opposite party ordinarily do not use those terms, nor yet well approve of them, unless understood *cum grano salis*. But themselves rather are so exorbitant in their phrases and terms, as it were well if a good quantity of Salt could so correct some of them, as to render them, if not wholesome, at least savoury.

4. Which

4. Which is the most unjust and uncharitable course of all the rest, and whereby yet I verily think they have prevailed more than by all the rest, in seeking to draw the persons of those that dissent from them into dislike with the Sate, as if they were Puritans, or Disciplinarians, or at least that way affected. Whereas

1. The Questions in debate are such, as no way touch upon Puritanism, either off or on.

2. Many of the Dissenters have as freely and clearly declared their Judgments, by preaching and writing against all Puritanism, and Puritanical Principles, both before and since they were interested in these Controversies, as the stoutest *Arminian* in *England* hath done.

I am not able to pronounce absolutely neither of other men; but so far as hath occurred to my observation, I dare say it, I find more written against the Puritans, and their Opinions, and with

more real satisfaction, and upon no less solid grounds, by those that have, and do dissent from the *Arminian* Tenets, than by those that have or do maintain them. Could that blessed Arch-bishop *Whitgift*, or the modest and learned *Hooker* have ever thought, so much as by dream, that men concurring with them in Opinion, should for some of these very Opinions be called *Puritans*?

### III. *Series Decretorum Dei.*

Sithence most of the differences now in question do arise from the different conceits which men have concerning the Decrees of God about man's Salvation, and the execution of those Decrees; it could not but be a work of singular use for the composing of present, and the preventing of farther differences, if some learned and moderate men (all prejudice and partiality laid aside) would travel with faithfulness and sobriety in this Argument, *viz.* to order those Decrees consonantly to the tenor of Scripture, and the Doctrine of the ancient Church, as to avoid those inconveniencies into which the extreme Opinions on both hands run. For, considering often with my self, that the abettors of

either extreme are confirmed in their Opinions, not so much from the assurance of their own grounds, as from the inconveniencies that attend the opposite extreme: I have ever thought that a middle way between both might be fairer and safer to pitch upon, than either extreme. What therefore upon some agitation of these Points, both in Argument with others upon occasion, and in my private and serious thoughts, I have conceived concerning the ordering of God's Decrees, desiring ever to keep my self within the bands of Christian sobriety and modesty, I have at the request of some Friends here distinctly laid down, not intending hereby to prescribe unto other men, nor yet to tie my self to mine own present Judgment, if I shall see cause to alter it; but only to present to the abler Judgments of some learned Friends that way, which hath hitherto given me better satisfaction than any other, and which I have not yet observed to be  
sub-

subject to so great difficulties and inconveniencies, neither in the substance of the matter, nor in the manner of explication, as the ways, which either the rigid *Calvinists*, or the *Arminians* have taken. *Quere* then, whether or no the Eternal Decrees of God concerning man's Salvation may not be conveniently conceived in this order, *viz.* That he decreed

1. To make himself glorious by communicating his goodness in producing powerfully, and *ex nihilo*, a world of Creatures, and among the chiefest of them Man, endued with a reasonable soul, and organical body, as a vessel and subject capable of grace and glory.

2. To enter into a Covenant with this reasonable Creature (commonly called the first Covenant of Works) to bestow upon him life and glory, if he should continue in his obedience; but if otherwise, then not only to be deprived of the blessedness covenanted, but also and in

stead thereof to be punished with actual misery and eternal death.

3. After this Covenant made, to leave man *in manu consilij sui*, by the free choice of his own will, to lay hold either on life by obedience, or by transgression on death.

4. To permit man thus left to himself to fall into sin, and so to cast himself out of that Covenant into a state of misery, and corruption, and damnation; with a purpose in that permission to serve himself of mans fall, as a fit occasion whereby to magnifie himself, and his own glory yet farther, in the manifestation of his infinite both justice and mercy.

5. That the whole Species of so noble a Creature might not perish everlastingly, and without all remedy, to provide for mankind (*pro genere humano*) a most wise, sufficient, and convenient means of reparation, and redemption, and salvation, by the satisfactory and meritorious death and obedience of the incarnate Son of God, Jesus Christ,

Christ, God blessed for ever.

6. In this Jesus, as the Mediator, to enter into a second Covenant with Mankind (commonly called the New Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace) that whosoever should lay hold on him by a true and steadfast Faith, should attain remission of sins, and eternal life; but he that should not believe, should perish everlastingly in his sins.

7. Lest this Covenant should yet be ineffectual, and Christ die in vain, because left to themselves, especially in this wretched state of corruption, none of the Sons of *Adam* could *de facto* have repented and believed in Christ, for the glory of his grace, to elect and cull a certain number of particular persons out of the corrupted lump of mankind, to be advanced into this Covenant, and thereby entitled unto Salvation; and that without any cause or motive at all in themselves, but meerly *ex beneplacito voluntatis*, of his own free grace and good pleasure in Jesus Christ,

Christ, pretermittting and passing by the rest to perish justly in their sins.

8. To confer in due season upon the persons so elected, all fit and effectual means and graces needful for them unto Salvation, proportionably to their personal capacities and conditions; as namely,

1. Upon Infants that die before the use of Reason, the Sacrament of Christian Baptism, administred and received in the Name and Faith of the Church, with Sacramental grace to such persons, as for the want of the use of Reason never come to be capable of the habitual or actual graces of Faith, Repentance, &c. we are to judge to be sufficient for their Salvation.

2. Upon men that come to the use of Reason sooner or later, such a measure of Faith in the Son of God, of repentance from dead works, of new and holy obedience to God's Commandments (together with final perseverance in all these) as in  
his

his excellent wisdom he seeth meet, wrought and preserved in them outwardly by the Word and Sacraments, and inwardly by the operation of his holy Spirit shed in their hearts, whereby sweetly and without constraint, but yet effectually, their understandings, wills and affections are subdued to the acknowledgment and obedience of the Gospel; and both these are done ordinarily, and by ordinary means.

3. Into some men it may be, and extraordinarily (especially in the want of ordinary means) God may infuse Faith, and other Graces accompanying Salvation, as also (*modo nobis incognito*) make supply unto Infants unbaptized some other way, by the immediate work of his Holy and Almighty Spirit, without the use of the outward means of the Word and Sacraments. Of which extraordinary work we cannot pronounce too sparingly; the special use whereto it serveth us, being the suspending of our Censures, not rashly

ly to pass the Sentence of Damnation upon those Infants, or Men, that want the ordinary outward means, since we are not able to say, How God in his infinite power can, and how in his rich mercy he hath, doth, or will deal with them.

9. Thus much concerning the salvation of those whom God hath of his free grace elected thereunto. But with the Reprobates, whom he hath in his justice appointed to destruction, he dealeth in another fashion; as concerning whom he hath decreed either

1. To afford them neither the extraordinary, nor so much as but the outward and ordinary means of Faith: Or else

2. In the presence of the outward means of the Word and Sacraments to withhold the inward concurrence of his enlightning and renewing Spirit to work with those means, for want whereof they become ineffectual to them for their good, working upon them either malignantly,

nantly, so as their hearts are the more hardened thereby in sin and unbelief, or infirmly, so as not to work in them a perfect Conversion, but to produce instead of the gracious habits of Sanctification, as Faith, Repentance, Charity, Humility, &c. some weak and infirm shadows of those Graces, which for their formal semblance sake do sometimes bear the name of those Graces they resemble, but were never in the mean time the very true Graces themselves, and in the end are discovered to have been false, by the want of perseverance.

*IV. Utilitas*

IV. *Utilitas hujus Seriei.*

This way of ordering the Decrees of God, besides that it seemeth to be according to the mind of the Scriptures, and to hold correspondency more than any other, as well with the writings of the ancient Doctors of the Church, especially of St. *Augustine* and those that followed him, as with the present Doctrine contained in the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of *England*: It hath also three notable commodities, *viz.*

1. Hereby are fairly avoided the most and greatest of those inconveniences into which both extremes run, or at the least which either extreme presseth sore upon the opposite extreme. The *Arminian* accusing the rigid *Calvinist* as a betrayer of the justice of God, for placing the Decree of Reprobation before

fore that of *Adam's* fall ; and being again accused by him as an Enemy to the grace of God, for making the efficacy thereof to depend upon man's free will. Whereas both the glory of the justice of God, and the efficacy of the grace of God, are preserved entire by following this middle way. For,

1. There can lie no imputation upon the justice of God, though he have reprobated some, and elected others, who were both equal in the sinful mass of corrupt nature ; rather his mercy is to be magnified, in that he hath not reprobated all : Which if he had done, his justice must yet have stood clear, though examined but even at the Bar of Humane Reason, for so much as all had deserved to be Reprobates, and that most justly for their sin in *Adam*. They that make the Decree of Reprobation to precede all respect to the fall, are put to many difficulties how to express themselves so as to avoid cavil ; and much ado they have to assert the

the Decrees of God from being howsoever unjust, being enforced to succour the justice of God, by flying to that absolute right and power he hath in and over the Creature: whereas this way cutteth off an hundred of those Cavils the *Arminians* commonly use, and justifieth the proceedings of our most righteous God in all respects so clearly, that his justice, both in the Decrees themselves, and in the execution thereof, is not only apparent, but also illustrious and glorious.

2. No impeachment is done to grace by magnifying nature, or to the efficacy of grace, by enlarging the powers of Free-will. For whereas in very truth the *Arminians* cannot, with all their subtil distinctions, and nice modifications escape it; but, when they have done and said what they can, they must stand guilty of symbolizing with the *Pelagians* both in their Principles and Conclusions, in giving man's will ( and not God's grace ) the chiefest stroke,

stroke; and the deciding, and last determining, and casting power in the work of conversion: by this way the will of man is so freed from all coercive necessity in the conversion of a sinner, as that yet the effect it self dependeth not upon the determination of the will, as the immediate and prime cause, but upon the efficacy of grace powerfully enclining the will thereunto.

2. Sundry passages in the Scriptures, and in the writings of the Fathers; which have in them some appearance of contradiction, may by following this way be easily reconciled, and the sense of those passages oftentimes preserved even to the letter, which by those that take the extreme ways, cannot be done so handsomely, nor without imposing upon the words a more remote and improper, if not sometimes a strained and enforced sense; as *viz.*

1. Those places that speak of election, as in, and by, and through Christ, making him the foundation

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of

of that also, as of every other grace, with those that speak of it, as issuing from the meer free pleasure and absolute will of God.

2. Those places that extend the fruit of Christ's death, and the benefit of the new Covenant to the whole world of mankind, with those that restrain them to the Elect only.

3. Those places that ascribe the whole course of man's salvation, from his first calling unto grace, untill his final consummation in glory, to the sole effectual working of the Holy Ghost, with those that attribute something or other therein, more or less, to the power and exercise of man's Free-will.

4. Those places that speak of the acts of justification and sanctification, or of the habits of faith, and love, and other inherent graces, as peculiar to the Elect only, with those that speak of them as common to the Elect with Cast-aways.

5. Those places that speak of the said gracious habits as permanent, as  
nei-

neither subject to a total intercision, nor possible to be finally lost, with those that speak of them as casual, and such as may be lost, either finally or totally, or both.

6. Those places that speak of obduration, occecation, &c. so as if the blindness that is in the minds, and hardness that is in the hearts of wicked men were from God, with those that impute such blindness and hardness in men unto the wilfulness of their own corrupt hearts.

3. Hence may be received good light for the cutting off of some, the moderating of other some, and the resolving of the rest of those questions which are now most in agitation, not only in the Church of *England*, but in many foreign Churches also, both Popish and Reformed, as *viz.* amongst others, these;

1. Whether Christ was ordained a Mediator in the intention of God for mankind indefinitely, or universally for all mankind, or only for the Elect?

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2. Whe-

2. Whether all mankind have title to the second Covenant, and to the Promises and Conditions therein proposed, or the Elect only?

3. Whether the wicked, who are both disobedient and unbelievers, come under the sentence of Condemnation formally, for their disobedience unto God in the breach of the first Covenant, or for their unbelief, in not resting upon Christ and the Promises of the new Covenant?

4. In what comprehension man is to be considered as the Object of Predestination?

5. Whether or no God did elect men unto Salvation in a certain and determinate number.

6. Whether or no in electing men unto salvation God had respect unto Christ?

7. Whether in electing some, and rejecting others, God was moved to decree as he did, from the faith or infidelity of the persons, or from any other thing whatsoever foreseen in them?

8. Whe-

8. Whether the decrees of Election Reprobation be absolute and peremptory, and inalterable, by Gods determination of them to a certain effect; or so conditional and indeterminate, as that the performance, or non-performance of something required on our part, may either establish or annul them? *Quod est quæ-  
rere*, Whether an elect person, by disobedience and unbelief, can cut off himself from the Covenant of Grace, as to be damned; or a Reprobate by faith and repentance, so lay hold on the Covenant, as to be saved?

9. Whether a man by the power of his Free-will can lay hold on Christ by faith, and convert himself from sin by Repentance and new Obedience, without the grace of special illumination from the holy Spirit of God?

10. Whether the right use of naturals be any cause to induce God to confer upon any man sufficient Grace for his Conversion?

11. Whether the same grace of spiritual illumination, which is sufficient and effectual for the conversion of one man, can in the same measure be effectual to another for his conversion?

12. Whether the efficacy of the grace of conversion depend upon the determination of man's Free-will, so as by resisting to make it ineffectual?

13. Whether justification and sanctification be proper to the Elect only?

14. What measure of assurance we have concerning the justification of Infants born of Christian Parents, and rightly baptized, before they come to the use of Reason to commit actual sin?

15. What measure of assurance we have concerning the salvation of such Infants, so baptized, if they die before they come to the use of Reason?

16. Whe-

16. Whether a person once truly justified by his own actual faith, and sanctified with the Spirit of holiness, can fall wholly from the state of grace, into the state of sin, in a total loss of faith, and other habitual graces?

17. Whether a person so justified and sanctified, can at the last fall away finally, and be damned?

Concerning all which, and sundry other Questions of like nature and use, albeit it would require a large Treatise to give them but a right stating, much more a just discussion, yet the due consideration of the nine Points premised in the former Section, concerning the order of God's Decrees, may give us some light in- to them all; if not so far (especially in some of them) as to settle our judgments in a certain and infallible resolution, yet so far at least, as to keep our understandings within some competent bounds of sobriety and truth, that we neither lose our

selves in curious Enquiries to little purpose, nor suffer our judgments to be envenomed with the Poison either of rank *Pelagian* heresie, or *Semi-Pelagian* popery, or quarter-*Pelagian* and *Arminian* novelty.

**Bishop**

Bishop *Sanderson's*

JUDGMENT

IN ONE

VIEW

FOR THE

SETTLEMENT

OF THE

CHURCH.

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Bishop *Sanderſon's*

JUDGMENT  
IN ONE  
VIEW.

Queſt. **H**OW far we may indulge good and godly men of tender Conſciences diſſenting from us in liberty of Conſcience.

Anſw. *First*, beſides that all parties pretend to godlineſſ, *Papiſts*,  
*Ana-*

*Anabaptists*, and what not? (even the late sprung up generation of *Levellers*, whose principles are so destructive of all that *order* and *justice* by which *publick societies* are supported, do yet style themselves, as by a kind of peculiarity, *The Godly*;) And that *secondly*, it is the easiest thing in the world, and nothing more common, than for men to pretend *conscience* when they are not minded to *obey*. I do not believe *thirdly* (though I am well perswaded of the *godliness* of many of them otherwise) that the *refusal* of indifferent *Ceremonies* enjoyed by *lawful authority*, is any part of their *godliness*; or any good fruit, evidence, or sign thereof. But certain it is *fourthly*, that the *godliest* men are *men*, and *know but in part*; and by the power of *godliness* in their *hearts*, are no more secured from the possibility of falling into *errour* through *ignorance*, than from the possibility of falling into sin through *infirmity*. And as for *tenderness* of  
Con.

Conscience *fifthly*, a most gracious blessed fruit of *the holy Spirit* of God, where it is *really*, and not in *pretence* only, nor *mistaken*, (for sure it is no very *tender* Conscience, though sometimes called so, that *straineth at a Gnat, and swalloweth a Camel*: ) it is with it, as with other *tender* things, very subject to receive *harm*, and soon put out of *order*. Through the cunning of *Satan*, it dangerously *exposeth* men to *temptations on the right hand*; and through its own aptitude to entertain and to cherish *unnecessary scruples*, it strongly *disposeth* them to *listen* thereunto so long, till at the last they are *overcome* thereof. Needful it is therefore, that in the publick teaching *the errors* should be sometimes refuted, and *the temptations* discovered: And this ever to be done *seasonably, soberly, discreetly, and convincingly*; and when we are to deal with men whose *Consciences* are (so far as we can discern) truly *tender*, with the spirit of *meekness* and  
com-

*compassion.* For tender things must be tenderly dealt withal, or they are lost. I know it is not always so done; nor can we expect it should. All preachers are neither so charitable, nor so prudent, nor so conscientious as they should be: And they that are such in a good measure are men still; and may be transported now and then through passion and infirmity, beyond the just bounds of moderation.

*Quest.* Whether good men should be suspended from the exercise of their ministry, and deprived of their livelihood for Ceremonies, which are on all hands acknowledged indifferent: and indeed in comparison to the work of the ministry are but trifles, however some men dote on them?

*Ans.* Let Ceremonies (secondly) be as very trifles, as any man can imagine them to be; yet obedience sure is no trifle. They mis-state the Question, when they talk of pressing Ceremonies. It is obedience (formally)

mally) that is required: *Ceremonies* not otherwise pressed, than as *the matter* wherein that *obedience* is to be exercised. If a *master* appoint his *servant* to do some small matter that he thinketh fit to have done, though in it self of no great moment; yet he will expect to be *obeyed*: and it is great reason he should. If in such case *the servant* should *refuse* to do the thing appointed, because he hath *no mind* thereunto; and should receive a check or correction for such refusal: could he either sufficiently *excuse* his own *fault*, or reasonably *complain* of his *master* for dealing hardly with him, by saying the thing was but *a trifle*? Is it not evident, that the thing which made *the master* angry, and *the servant* an offender in *that case*, was not (*precisely and formally*) the leaving of the thing *undone*, (which, had it not been *commanded*, might have been left *undone* without any *fault* or *blame* at all;) but *the refusing* to do it, when he that had a right to his service

ſervice *commanded* him? Wherefore *thirdly*, that which is ſaid of ſome mens *doting* ſo extremely on *Ceremonies*, might have been well enough ſpared. I know no true Son of *the Church of England*, that doth upon any *Ceremony*, whatſoever opinion he may have of *the decency* or *expediency* of ſome of them. If any do, let him *answer* for himſelf. Among wiſe men, he will hardly paſs for a *wiſe man*, that *doteth* upon any. Nor will he, I doubt, prove a much *wiſer man*, that runs into *the contrary* extreme, and *abhorreth* all. It is true *fourthly*, that there have been long and *unkind quarrels* about theſe things; More is *the pity*! but where is *the fault*? To whom is *the beginning*, and to whom *the continuance* of a quarrel rather imputable? to him that *demandeth* his right? or to him that *withholdeth* it from him? For this is the plain *Caſe* in ſhort; *The Biſhops* (*under the King*) require *obedience* to the *Laws Eccleſiaſtical*; theſe men *refuſe* to give it.

it. So began the quarrel at first, and upon the same terms it continued. If the *Obedience* challenged were indeed due to these Laws, then did our *Brethren* both begin the quarrel, and hold it on: if it were not, then must the whole blame lie upon them that claimed it unjustly, and not upon them. So that in the winding up of the business, the whole *Controversie* will devolve upon this point, Whether to the *Laws Ecclesiastical* obedience be due or not? For the right determining whereof (for so much as it is confest on all hands, that *Obedience* is due to lawful authority commanding lawful things) two other points are to be resolved; the one concerning the authority by which the Constitutions were made; the other concerning the lawfulness of the things therein required: The *Presbyterians of the Kirk* flatly and directly deny both: Ours, less forward to declare their opinion in the former point, have chosen rather to stand upon the latter only. And so

*the point in iſſue* is briefly this, Whether *the things* commanded (and particularly the *Ceremonies*) be *lawful*, yea or no.

When for *decency, order, or uniformities* ſake any *Conſtitutions* are made concerning *Ceremonies*, there is the ſame *neceſſity* of obeying ſuch *Conſtitutions*, as there is of obeying other *laws* made for the good of the *Commonwealth*, concerning any other *indifferent* things. That ſuch *neceſſity*, either in the one or the other, ariſeth not properly from *the authority* of the immediate *Legiſliver*; but from *the Ordinance of God*, who hath commanded us to obey *the Ordinance of men* for his ſake. That ſuch *neceſſity of obedience*, notwithstanding *the things* remain in the ſame *indifference* as before; every way, in reſpect of their nature and *quoad rem* (it being not in the power of *accidental relations* to change *the natures* of things) and even in reſpect of their *uſe*, and *quoad nos*, thus far, that there is a *liberty* left for men, upon extraordinary and other juſt occaſions,

ons, sometimes to do otherwise than the Constitution requireth, *extra casum scandali & contemptus*: A liberty which we dare not either take our selves, or allow to others, in things properly and absolutely necessary: Upon which very account (I mean the consideration of the indifferency of the things in themselves) and upon which account alone it is, that many of the Episcopal (that is to say, the true English Protestant) Divines, who sadly resent the voting down of the Liturgy, Festivals, and Ceremonies of the Church by so many former Laws established, heartily desired heretofore the continuance, and as heartily still wish the restitution, and are (by God's help) ready with their Tongues, Pens, and Sufferings to maintain and justify the lawful use of the same; do yet so far yield to the sway of the times, and are perswaded they may with a good Conscience so do, as to forbear the use thereof in the publick worship, till it shall seem good to those

that are in place of Authority, either to restore them to their former state (as it is well hoped, when they shall have duly considered the evil consequences of that Vote, they will) or at leastwise, and in the mean time to leave them arbitrary, for men, according to their several different judgments, to use or not to use, which seemeth but reasonable, the like favour and liberty in other kinds having been long allowed to almost all other sorts of men, though of never so distant persuasions one from another. Lastly, That all *Laws* made concerning *Ceremonies* or other *indifferent* things, whether *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*, are *mutable*: and as they were at first made *by humane authority*, so may they from time to time be *by humane authority* abrogated and repealed. And then and thenceforth they lose their *obligation*, whereby *the necessity* of yielding *obedience* thereunto wholly ceaseth and determineth; and *the things* thereby *commanded* or *prohibited*

bited return to their primitive and natural *indifferency*, even in their *use* also, and *in respect of us*.

But in the Case of our Church now it is far otherwise: *Cap, Surplice, Cross, Ring*, and other *Ceremonies*, which are the matter of our differences, though they be things *indifferent* for their *nature*, and *in themselves*; yet are not so for their *use*, and *unto us*. If *the Church* had been silent, if *Authority* had prescribed nothing herein, these *Ceremonies* had then remained for their *use*, as they are for their *nature*, indifferent, *Lawful*, and such as might be *used* without sin; and yet *Arbitrary*, and such as might be also *forborn* without sin. But men must grant (though they be unwilling, if yet they will be reasonable) that every *particular Church* hath power for *decency and orders* sake, to ordain and constitute *Ceremonies*: which being once ordained, and by publick Authority enjoyned, cease to be *indifferent* for their *use*, though they remain still so

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for their *nature* ; and of *indifferent* become so *necessary*, that neither may a man without sin *refuse* them, where Authority requireth, nor *use* them, where Authority restraineth the use,

Neither is this adcession of *necessity* any impeachment to *Christian Liberty*, or *ensnaring* of mens *Consciences*, as some have objected: For then do we ensnare mens *Consciences* by *humane constitutions*, where we thrust them upon men as if they were *Divine*, and bind mens *Consciences* to them *immediately*, as if they were immediate parts of *God's worship*, or of absolute necessity unto Salvation. This *Tyranny* and *Usurpation* over mens *Consciences* the *Pharisees* of old did, and the *Church of Rome* at this day doth exercise, and we justly hate in her, equalling, if not preferring her *Constitutions* to the *Laws* of God. But our *Church* (God be thanked) is far from any such impious presumption ; and hath sufficiently *declared* her self by so-  
lemn

solemn *protestation*, enough to satisfy any ingenuous impartial judgment, that by requiring obedience to these *ceremonial constitutions*, she hath no other purpose, than to reduce all *her children* to an *orderly conformity* in the *outward worship* of God; so far is she from seeking to draw any opinion, either of *divine necessity* upon the *constitution*, or of *effectual holiness* upon the *ceremony*. And as for the prejudice which seemeth to be hereby given to *Christian liberty*, it is so slender a conceit, that it seemeth to bewray in the objectors a desire, not so much of *satisfaction*, as *cavil*. For first, the liberty of a Christian to all indifferent things is in *the mind* and *conscience*, and is then infringed, when the *conscience* is bound and strained, by imposing upon it an opinion of *doctrinal necessity*. But it is no wrong to *the Liberty* of a Christian man's conscience, to bind him to *outward observation* for *orders* sake, and to impose upon him *a necessity of Obedience*.

*dience.* Which one distinction of *Doctrinal* and *Obediential necessity* well weighed, and rightly applied, is of it self sufficient to clear all doubts in this point. For, to make all *restraint* of the outward man in matters *indifferent* an impeachment of *Christian liberty*, what were it else, but even to bring flat *Anabaptism* and *Anarchy* into the Church? and to overthrow all bond to *subjection* and *obedience* to lawful authority? I beseech you consider, wherein can the *immediate power* and authority of *Fathers, Masters*, and other *Rulers* over their inferiours consist, or the due *obedience* of inferiours be shewn towards them, if not in these *indifferent* and *arbitrary* things? For, things *absolutely necessary*, as commanded by God, we are bound to do, whether human Authority *require* them or no: and things *absolutely unlawful*, as prohibited by God, we are bound *not to do*, whether humane Authority *forbid* them, or no. There are none  
other

other things left then, wherein to express properly *the Obedience* due to superiour Authority, than these *indifferent things*. And if a *Father* or *Master* have power to prescribe to his *child* or *servant* in indifferent things, and such restraint be no way prejudicial to *Christian liberty* in them, why should any man, either deny the like power to *Church Governours*, to make *Ecclesiastical constitutions* concerning indifferent things? or interpret that power to the prejudice of *Christian liberty*? And again, *secondly*, Men must understand, that it is an error to think *Ceremonies* and *Constitutions* to be things *meerly indifferent*; I mean in the general. For howsoever every *particular Ceremony* be indifferent, and every *particular constitution* arbitrary and alterable; yet that there should be some *Ceremonies*, it is necessary *necessitate absoluta*, inasmuch as no outward work can be performed without *ceremonial* circumstances, some or other: and that there  
should

should be some *constitutions* concerning them, it is also necessary (though not simply and absolutely, as the former, yet *ex hypothesi*, and) *necessitate convenientiae*: Otherwise, since some *Ceremonies* must needs be used, every *Parish*, nay every *man* would have his own fashion by himself, as his humour led him, whereof what other could be the issue, but infinite *distraction* and *unorderly confusion* in the Church? And again, *thirdly*, to return their weapon upon themselves, if every restraint in *indifferent things* be injurious to *Christian liberty*, then themselves are injurious, no less by their *negative* restraint from some *Ceremonies*, *Wear not, Cross not, Kneel not, &c.* than they would have the world believe our Church is by her *positive restraint* unto these *Ceremonies of wearing, and crossing, and kneeling, &c.* Let indifferent men judge, nay let themselves that are parties judge, whether is more injurious to *Christian Liberty*, *publick Authority* by  
 mature

mature advice commanding what might be forborn, or *private spirits*, through humorous dislikes, forbidding what may be used; the *whole Church* imposing the use, or a *few Brethren* requiring the forbearance of such things as are otherwise and in themselves equally *indifferent* for use, or for forbearance.

But they say, *our Church* makes greater matters of *ceremonies* than thus, and preferreth them even before the most *necessary duties* of preaching and administering the *Sacraments*; inasmuch as they are imposed upon *Ministers* under pain of *Suspension* and *Deprivation* from their Ministerial Functions and Charges. First, for actual Deprivation, I take it, unconfirming Ministers have no great cause to complain. "Our Church, it is well known, hath not always used that rigour she might have done. Where she hath been forced to proceed as far as *Deprivation*, she hath ordinarily by her fair, and slow, and compassionate  
"pro-

"proceeding therein, sufficiently  
 "manifested her unwillingness  
 "thereto: and declared her self a  
 Mother every way indulgent enough  
 to such ill-nurtured Children as will  
 not be ruled by her. *Secondly*, those  
 that are *suspended* or *deprived*, suffer  
 it but justly for their *obstinacy* and  
*contempt*: For, howsoever they  
 would bear the world in hand, that  
 they are *the only persecuted ones*,  
 and that they suffer for their *consci-  
 ences*; yet in truth they do but abuse  
 the credulity of the simple therein;  
 and herein (as in many other things)  
 jump with the *Papists*, whom they  
 would seem above all others most  
 abhorrent from. For as *Seminary  
 Priests* and *Jesuits* give it out that  
 they suffer for *Religion*, when the  
 very truth is, they are justly execu-  
 ted for their prodigious Treasons, and  
 felonious or treacherous *practices* a-  
 gainst lawful Princes and Estates: So  
*the Brethren* pretend they are per-  
 secuted for their *consciencies*, when  
 they are indeed but justly censured  
 for

for thier obstinate and pertinacious *contempt* of lawful authority. For it is not *the refusal* of these *Ceremonies* they are deprived for, otherwise than as *the matter* wherein they shew their *contempt*: It is *the contempt* it self, which *formerly* and properly subjecteth them to just *Eccllesiastical censure* of Suspension or Deprivation. And *contempt of authority*, though in the smallest matter, deserveth no small punishment; all *authority* having been ever solicitous (as it hath good reason) above all things to vindicate and preserve it self from *contempt*, by inflicting sharp punishments upon *contemptuous* persons in *the smallest* matters, above all other sorts of offenders in any degree whatsoever. Thus have we shewed and cleared the *first* and main difference betwixt *the case* of my Text, and the case of our Church, in regard of *the matter*; the things whereabout they differed, being every way *indifferent*, ours not so.

The

The determination of *Superiours* may and ought to restrain us in the outward exercise of our *Christian liberty*. We must *submit our selves to every Ordinance of man*, saith *St. Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. and it is necessary we should do so; for so is the will of *God*, ver. 15. Neither is it against *Christian liberty* if we do so; for we are still as free as before: rather if we do not so, we *abuse our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*, as it followeth there, ver. 16. And *St. Paul* telleth us we must needs be subject, not only for fear, because the *Magistrate carrieth not the Sword in vain; but also for conscience sake*, because the powers that are, are ordained of *God*. This duty, so fully pressed and so uniformly by these two grand Apostles, is most apparent in private societies. In a family, the *Master*, or *pater familias*, who is a kind of *petty Monarch* there, hath authority to prescribe to his children and servants in the use of those indifferent things whereto yet they,

as *Christians*, have as much *liberty* as he. *The servant*, though he be the *Lord's free-man*, yet is limited in his *diet, lodging, livery*, and many other things by his *Master*; and he is to submit himself to his *Master's* appointment in these things, though perhaps in his *private affection* he had rather his *Master* had appointed otherwise: and perhaps withal in his *private judgment*, doth verily think it fitter his *Master* should appoint otherwise. If any man, under colour of *Christian liberty*, shall teach otherwise, and exempt *servants* from the obedience of their *Masters* in such things; *St. Paul* in a holy indignation inveigheth against such a man, not without some bitterness, in the last Chapter of his Epistle, as one that is proud, and knoweth nothing, as he should do, but doteth about questions and strife of words, &c. ver. 3, 5.

Now look what power the *Master* hath over his *Servants* for the ordering of his family, no doubt the same

same at the least, if not much more, hath *the supreme Magistrate* over his *Subjects*, for the peace of *the Commonwealth*, the Magistrate being *pater patriæ*, as the Master is *pater familias*. Whosoever then shall interpret *the determinations of Magistrates* in the use of *the Creatures* to be contrary to *the liberty* of a Christian; or under that colour shall exempt *inferiours* from their obedience to such determinations; he must blame *St. Paul*, nay, he must blame *the holy Ghost*, and not us, if he hear from us that he is *proud*, and *knoweth nothing*, and *doteth about unprofitable Questions*. Surely, but that *experience* sheweth us it hath been so, and *the Scriptures* have foretold us that it should be so, that there should be *differences*, and *sidings*, and *part-takings* in the Church: A man would wonder how it should ever sink into the hearts and heads of sober understanding men, to deny either *the power* in Superiours to *ordain*, or *the necessity* in Inferiours to obey

obey Laws and Constitutions, so restraining us in the use of *the Ceramures*.

Neither let any man cherish his ignorance herein, by conceiting, as if there were some difference to be made between *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* Things, and Laws and Persons in this behalf. The truth is, our *liberty* is equal in both; *the power* of Superiours for restraint equal in both, and *the necessity* of obedience in Inferiours equal to both. No man hath yet been able to shew, nor I think ever shall be, a real and substantial difference indeed between them to make an inequality: But that still, as *Civil Magistrates* have sometimes, for just politick respects, *prohibited* some Trades, and Manufactures, and Commodities, and enjoined other some, and done well in both; so *Church Governours* may upon good considerations (say it be but for order and uniformities sake) prescribe the *times*, *places*, *vestments*, *gestures*, and other *ceremo-*

*nial circumstances to be used in Ecclesiastical Offices and Assemblies: As the Apostles in the first Council holden at Jerusalem, in Acts 15. laid upon the Churches of the Gentiles for a time a restraint from the eating of blood, and things sacrificed to Idols, and strangled.*

Thus we see our *Christian liberty* unto the Creatures may without prejudice admit of some *restraints* in the *outward exercise* of it, and namely from the three respects, of *Christian Sobriety*, of *Christian Charity*, and of *Christian Duty* and *Obedience*. But now in the comparing of these together, when there seemeth to be a repugnancy between one and another of them, there may be some difficulty: and the greatest difficulty, and which hath bred most trouble, is in comparing the cases of *scandal* and *disobedience* together, when there seemeth to be a repugnancy between *Charity* and *Duty*. As for example; Suppose in a thing which simply and in it self we may  
law.

lawfully, according to the *Liberty* we have in Christ, either use or forbear; *Charity* seemeth to lay restraint upon us one way, our weak brother expecting we should forbear, and *Duty* a quite contrary way, *Authority* requiring the use: in such a case what are we to do? It is against *charity* to offend a brother; and it is against *Duty* to disobey a *superiour*. And yet something must be done; either we must use, or not use; forbear, or not forbear. For the untying of this knot (which, if we will but lay things rightly together, hath not in it so much hardness as it seemeth to have) let this be our *seventh Position*. In the use of the *Creatures*, and all *indifferent things*, we ought to bear a greater regard to our *publick Governours*, than to our *private Brethren*; and be more careful to obey them, than to satisfy these, if the same course will not in some mediocrity satisfy both. Alas, that our Brethren, who are contrary minded, would but with

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the spirit of sobriety admit *common Reason* to be umpire in this case: Alas, that they would but consider what a world of *contradictions* would follow upon the contrary *opinion*, and what a world of *confusions* upon the contrary *practice*. Say what can be said in the behalf of a *brother*, all the same, and more may be said for a *Governour*: For a *Governour* is a *Brother* too, and something more; and *Duty* is *Charity* too, and something more. If then I may not offend my *Brother*, then certainly not my *Governour*; because he is my *brother* too, being a *man*, and a *christian*, as well as the other is. And the same *charity* that bindeth me to satisfy *another Brother*, equally bindeth me to satisfy *this*. So that, if we go no farther, but even to the common bond of *charity*, and relation of *brotherhood*, that maketh them *equal* at the least; and therefore no reason, why I should satisfy one that is but a *private brother*, rather than the *pub-*

*publick magistrate*, who (that publick respect set aside) is my *brother* also. When the Scales hang thus even, shall not the accession of *magistracy* to common *brotherhood* in him, and of *Duty* to common *charity* in me, be enough to cast it clear for *the magistrate*? Shall a *servant* in a Family, rather than offend his fellow-servant, *disobey* his Master? And is not a *double scandal* against *charity* and *duty* both (for *duty* implieth *charity*) greater than a *single scandal* against *charity* alone? If private men will be offended at our *obedience* to publick *Governours*, we can but be sorry for it: We may not redeem their *offence* by our *disobedience*. He that *taketh* offence where none is *given*, sustaineth a double person, and must answer for it, both as *the giver* and *the taker*. If offence be taken at us, there is no wo to us for it, if it do not come by us; *Wo to the man by whom the offence cometh*: And it doth not come by us, if we do but what is our duty to

do. *The Rule* is certain and equitable; The respect of *private scandal* ceaseth, where *lawful authority* determineth our *liberty*; and that *restraint* which proceedeth from *special duty*, is of superiour reason to that which proceedeth but from *common charity*.

*Quest. Whether the King and Parliament ought to impose any more upon us in matters of Religion, than is imposed in the Scripture? or whether every one ought not to be left to serve God according to his best apprehensions out of the Scripture?*

*Answ.* The *Opinion* is, that to do any thing at all without direction from *the Scripture* is unlawful and sinful. Which if they would understand only of the substantials of *Gods worship*, and of the exercises of *spiritual and supernatural graces*, the assertion were true and sound; but as they extend it to *all the actions of common life* whatsoever, whether natural or civil, even so far as to the  
taking

taking up of a straw, so it is altogether false and indefensible. I marvel what warrant they that so teach have from *the Scripture* for that very Doctrine; or where they are commanded so to *believe* or *teach*. One of their chiefest refuges is *the Text* we now have in hand; but I shall anon drive them from this shelter. The other places usually alledged speak only, either of divine and *supernatural truths* to be believed, or else of *works of grace or worship* to be performed, as of necessity unto salvation; which is not to the point in issue. For it is freely confessed, that in things of such nature *the holy Scripture* is, and so we are to account it, a most *absolute sufficient* direction. Upon which ground we heartily reject all *humane traditions*, devised and intended as *supplements* to the doctrine of faith contained in the *Bible*, and annexed as *Codicils* to the holy Testament of Christ, for to supply the defects thereof. The question is wholly about things in

their nature *indifferent*; such as are the use of our *food, raiment*, and the like, about which *the common actions* of life are chiefly conversant: Whether in the choice and use of such things, we may not be sometimes sufficiently guided by the light of *reason* and the common rules of *discretion*; but that we must be able (and are so bound to do, or else we *sin*) for every thing *we do* in such matters, to deduce our *warrant* from some place or other of *Scripture*.

Before *the Scriptures* were written, it pleased God by *visions*, and *dreams*, and other like *revelations*, immediately to make known his good pleasure to the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*, and by them unto the People: which kind of *revelations* served them to all the same intents and purposes, whereto the sacred *Scriptures* now do us, *viz.* to instruct them what they should *believe* and *do* for his better *service*, and the furtherance of their own *salvations*.  
Now

Now as it were unreasonable for any man to think, that they either had or did expect an *immediate revelation* from God every time they eat, or drank, or bought, or sold, or did any other of *the common actions* of life, for the warranting of each of those particular actions to their Consciences; no less unreasonable it is to think, that we should now expect the like *warrant* from the *Scriptures* for the doing of the like actions. Without all doubt *the law of nature*, and *the light of reason*, was *the rule* whereby they were guided for the most part in such matters, which the wisdom of God would never have left in them or us, as a *principal relick* of his decayed *image* in us, if he had not meant that we should make use of it for *the direction* of our lives and actions thereby. Certainly God never infused any *power* into any creature, whereof he intended not some *use*. Else, what shall we say of *the Indies* and other barbarous Nations, to whom

whom God never vouchsafed *the lively Oracles* of his written word? Must we think that they were left *a lawless people*, without any *Rule* at all whereby to order their *actions*? How then come they to be guilty of *transgression*? For where there is *no law*, there can be *no transgression*. Or how cometh it about that their *consciences* should at any time, or in any case, either *accuse* them, or *excuse* them, if they had no *guide* nor *rule* to walk by? But if we must grant they had *a Rule* (and there is no way, you see, but grant it we must;) then we must also of necessity grant, that there is some *other Rule* for humane actions besides *the written word*; for that we presupposed these Nations to have wanted. Which *Rule*, what other could it be than *the Law of Nature*, and of *right reason*, imprinted *in their hearts*? Which is as truly *the Law* and *Word of God*, as is that which is printed *in our Bibles*. So long as our *actions* are warranted either by  
the

the one or the other, we cannot be said to want *the warrant of God's Word*: *Nec differet Scriptura an ratione consistat*, saith *Tertullian*; it mattereth not much from whether of both we have our *direction*, so long as we have it from either.

You see then those men are in a great error, who make the holy Scriptures *the sole rule* of all humane actions whatsoever. For the maintenance whereof, there was never yet produced any piece of an argument, either from *reason*, or from *authority* of holy writ, or from the *testimony* either of the ancient *Fathers*, or of other classical *Divines* of later times; which may not be clearly and abundantly answered, to the satisfaction of any rational man not extremely fore-possessed with prejudice. "They who think to  
"salve the matter by this *mitigati-*  
"on, that at leastwise our actions  
"ought to be framed according to  
"those *general rules of the law of*  
"Nature, which are here and there  
"in

" in the Scriptures diſperſedly con-  
 " tained (as *viz.* *That we ſhould do,*  
 " *as we would be done to; That all*  
 " *things be done decently and order-*  
 " *ly, and unto edification; That no-*  
 " *thing be done againſt conſcience,*  
 " and the like) ſpeak ſomewhat in-  
 " deed to *the truth*, but little to *the*  
 " *purpose.* For they conſider not,  
 " Firſt, that theſe *general rules* are  
 " but *occasionally* and *incidentally*  
 " mentioned in Scripture, rather to  
 " manifeſt unto us *a former*, than to  
 " lay upon us *a new obligation.* Se-  
 " condly, that thoſe *rules* had been  
 " of force for the ordering of mens  
 " actions, though *the Scripture* had  
 " never *expreſſed* them; and were  
 " of ſuch force before *theſe Scrip-*  
 " *tures* were written, wherein they  
 " are now *expreſſed.* For they bind  
 " not originally *qua ſcripta*, but *qua*  
 " *juſta*; becauſe they are *righteous*,  
 " not becauſe they are *written.*  
 " Thirdly, that an action conform-  
 " able to theſe *general Rules* might  
 " not be condemned as *ſinful*, al-  
 " though

“though the doer thereof should  
 “look at those rules meerly as they  
 “are the dictates of *the law of na-*  
 “*ture*; and should not be able to  
 “vouch his *warrant* for it from any  
 “place of *Scripture*, neither should  
 “have at the time of the doing  
 “thereof any present thought or  
 “consideration of any such place.  
 “The contrary whereunto; I permit  
 “to any man’s reasonable judgment,  
 “if it be not desperately *rash* and  
 “*uncharitable* to affirm. *Lastly*,  
 “that if mens actions done agreea-  
 “bly to those *Rules* are said to be of  
 “*faith*, precisely for this reason,  
 “because those rules are contained  
 “in *the word*: then it will follow,  
 “that before those *particular Scrip-*  
 “*tures* were written, wherein any  
 “of those *Rules* are first delivered,  
 “every action done according to  
 “those rules had been done *without*  
 “*faith* (there being as yet *no Scrip-*  
 “*ture* for it) and consequently had  
 “been a sin. So that by this Do-  
 “ctrine it had been a sin (before the  
 “writing

"writing of *S. Matthew's Gospel* )  
 "for any man to have done to o-  
 "thers, as he would they should do  
 "to him; and it had been a sin (be-  
 "fore the writing of *the former E-*  
 "*pistle to the Corinthians* ) for any  
 "man to have done any thing *de-*  
 "*cently and orderly*; supposing these  
 "*two Rules* to be in those *two pla-*  
 "*ces* first mentioned: because (this  
 "supposed) there could then have  
 "been no warrant brought from *the*  
 "*Scriptures* for so doing.

"Well then, we see the former  
 "Opinion will by no means hold,  
 "neither in *the rigour* of it, nor yet  
 "in *the mitigation*. We are there-  
 fore to beware of it, and that so much  
 the more heedfully, because of the  
*evil consequents* and effects that is-  
 sue from it; to wit, a world of *su-*  
*perstitions*, uncharitable *censures*,  
 bitter *contentions*, contempt of su-  
 perious, *perplexities* of conscience.  
*First*, it filleth mens heads with ma-  
 ny *superstitious* conceits; making  
 them to cast *impurity* upon sundry  
 things,

things, which yet are *lawful* to as many as use them lawfully. For the taking away of *the indifferency* of any thing that is indifferent, is in truth *superstition*, whether either of the two ways it be done; either by requiring it as *necessary*, or by forbidding it as *unlawful*. He that condemneth a thing as *utterly unlawful*, which yet indeed is *indifferent*, and so lawful, is *guilty of superstition*, as well as he that enjoyneth a thing as *absolutely necessary*, which yet indeed is but *indifferent*, and so arbitrary. They of *the Church of Rome*, and some in *our Church*, as they go upon quite contrary grounds, yet both *false*; so they run into quite contrary *errors*, and both *superstitious*. They decline too much on *the left hand*, denying to *holy Scripture* that *perfection* which of right it ought to have; of containing all appertaining to that *supernatural doctrine* of faith and holiness, which God hath revealed to his Church for the attainment of everlasting

verlasting salvation ; whereupon they would impose upon Christian people, & that with an opinion of *necessity*, many things which *the Scriptures* require not ; and that is a *superstition*. These wry too much on *the right hand*, ascribing to the *holy Scripture* such a kind of *perfection* as it cannot have ; of being the sole directour of all *humane actions* whatsoever : whereupon they *forbid* unto Christian people, and that under the name of *sin*, sundry things which the *holy Scripture* condemneth not ; and that is a *superstition* too.

From which *superstition* proceedeth, in the second place, *uncharitable censuring* ; as evermore they that are the most *superstitious*, are the most *supercilious*. No such severe *censurers* of our blessed Saviour's person and actions, as the *superstitious* Scribes and Pharisees were. In this Chapter, the special fault, which the Apostle blameth in the *weak ones* (who were somewhat *superstitiously*

tiously affected) was their *rash* and *uncharitable* judging of their brethren. And common and daily experience among our selves sheweth how freely some men spend their *censures* upon so many of their brethren, as *without scruple* do any of those things, which they upon false grounds have *superstitiously* condemned as *utterly unlawful*.

And then *thirdly*, as unjust *censures* are commonly entertained with *scorn* and contumely; they that so liberally condemn their brethren of *prophaneness*, are by them again as freely flouted for their *preciseness*: and so whiles both parties *please themselves* in their own ways, they cease not mutually to *provoke* and scandalize and exasperate one the other, pursuing their private spleens so far, till they break out into *open contentions* and oppositions. Thus it stood in the *Roman Church*; when this Epistle was written. They *judged* one another, and *despised* one another, to the great disturbance of

*the Churches peace*, which gave occasion to our Apostles whole discourse in this Chapter. And how far the like *censurings* and *despisings* have embittered *the spirits*, and whetted both *the tongues* and *pens* of learned men one against another in our own Church; the stirs that have been long since *raised*, and are still *upheld* by the factious opposers against our *Ecclesiastical constitutions*, *government*, and *ceremonies*, will not suffer us to be ignorant. Most of which stirs, I verily perswade myself, had been long ere this either wholly buried in silence, or at leastwise prettily well quieted, if *the weakness* and *danger* of the error whereof we now speak, had been more timely discovered, and more *fully* and *frequently* made known to the world than it hath been.

*Fourthly*, Let that Doctrine be once admitted, and all *humane authority* will soon be *despised*. The commands of *Parents*, *Masters*, and *Princes*, which many times require both

both *secrecy* and *expedition*; shall be taken into slow deliberation, and the *equity* of them sifted by those that are bound to *obey*, though they know no cause why, so long as they know no cause to the contrary. *Delicata est obedientia, quæ transit in causam deliberativam.* It is a nice obedience in St. *Bernard's* judgment, yea rather *troublesome* and odious, that is over-curious in *discussing* the commands of *superiours*, boggling at every thing that is enjoined, requiring a *why* for *everywherefore*, and unwilling to stir until the *lawfulness* and *expediency* of the thing commanded shall be demonstrated by some manifest *reason* or undoubted *authority* from the Scriptures.

*Lastly*, The admitting of this Doctrine would cast such a snare upon men of weak *judgments*, but *tender consciences*, as they should never be able to unwind themselves again. *Mens daily occasions* for themselves or friends, and *the necessities of common life*, require the doing of a

*thousand things* within the compass of a few days, for which it would puzzle the best *Textman* that liveth, readily to bethink himself of a *sentence in the Bible*, clear enough to satisfy a scrupulous conscience of the *lawfulness* and *expediency* of what he is about to do; for which, by hearkening to the rules of *reason* and *discretion*, he might receive easie and speedy resolution. In which cases if he should be bound to *suspend* his resolution, & delay to do that which his own *reason* would tell him were presently needful to be done, until he could haply call to mind some *precept* or *example* of Scripture for his warrant, what *stops* would it make in the course of his whole life? what *languishings* in the duties of his calling? how would it fill him with *doubts* and irresolutions, lead him into a maze of *uncertainties*, entangle him in a world of woful *perplexities*, and (without the great mercy of God, and better instruction) plunge him irrecoverably into the gulph

gulf of *despair*? Since the chief end of the publication of *the Gospel* is to *comfort* the hearts, and to revive and refresh the spirits of God's people, with the glad tidings of *liberty* from the spirit of *bondage* and *fear*, and of gracious *acceptance* with their God; to anoint them with the oyl of gladness, giving them *beauty for ashes*, and instead of *sackcloth* girding them with *joy*: we may well suspect that *Doctrine* not to be *Evangelical*, which thus setteth the Consciences of men upon *the rack*, tortureth them with continual *fears* and *perplexities*, and prepareth them thereby unto *hellish despair*.

Quest. *What are the dreadful consequences of scrupling some indifferent things?*

Ans. Although difference of judgment should not alienate our affections one from another, yet daily experience sheweth it doth. By reason of that *self-love*, and *envy*, and other corruptions that abound in us, it is rarely seen that those men are of

*one heart*, that are of *two minds*,  
*St. Paul* found it so with the *Romans*  
 in his time : whilst some condemned  
 that as *unlawful*, which others pra-  
 ctised as *lawful* ; they *judged* one  
 another, and *despised* one another,  
 perpetually. And I doubt not, but  
 any of us, that is any-whit-like ac-  
 quainted with the wretched *deceit-  
 fulness of man's heart*, may easily  
 conclude how hard a thing it is ( if  
 at all possible ) not to think some-  
 what hardly of those men, that take  
*the liberty* to do such " things as we  
 " judge *unlawful*. As for example;  
 " If we shall judge all *walking* into  
 " the *fields*, *discoursing* occasionally  
 " on the occurrences of the times,  
 " *dressing of meat* for dinner or sup-  
 " per, or even *moderate recreations*  
 " on the *Lord's day*, to be grievous  
 " *prophanations of the Sabbath*; how  
 " can we chuse but *judge* those men  
 " that use them to be grievous *pro-  
 " phaners of God's Sabbath*? And  
 " if such our *judgment* concerning  
 " *these things* should after prove to  
 " be

“be *erroneous*; then can it not be avoided, but that such our *judgment* also concerning *the persons* must needs be *uncharitable*.

*Secondly*, This mis-judging of things filleth the world with endless niceties and *disputes*, to the great disturbance of *the Churches peace*, which to every good man ought to be precious. The multiplying of *Books* and *writings Pro and Con*, and pursuing of *arguments* with heat and opposition, doth rather *lengthen* than *decide* Controversies; and instead of destroying *the old*, begetteth *new ones*: whiles they that are *in the wrong* out of obstinacy *will not*, and they that stand *for the truth* out of Conscience *dare not*, may not yield; and so still the war goeth on.

And as to *the publick peace* of the Church, so is there also, *thirdly*, by this means great prejudice done to *the peace* and tranquillity of private *mens Consciences*; when by *the peremptory Doctrines* of some strict and *rigid masters* the Souls of many a

well-meaning man are miserably disquieted with a thousand *unnecessary scruples*, and driven sometimes into very woful *perplexities*. Surely it can be no light matter thus to lay *heavy burdens* upon other mens shoulders, and to cast a *snare* upon their Consciences, by making *the narrow way to Heaven* narrower than ever God meant it.

*Fourthly*, Hereby Christian Governours come to be robbed of a great part of that *honour* that is due unto them from their people, both in their *affections* and *subjection*. For when they shall see cause to exercise over us that *power* that God hath left them in *indifferent things*, by commanding such or such thing to be done, as namely, *wearing* of a Surplice, *kneeling* at the Communion, and the like: if now we in our own thoughts have already *prejudged* any of the things so commanded to be *unlawful*, it cannot be.

Quest.

Quest. *If these things be so, how comes it to pass that so many godly men should incline so much to this way?*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. But you will say, if these things were so, how should it then come to pass that so many men pretending to godlineß (and thousands of them doubtless such as they pretend; for it were an uncharitable thing to charge them all with *hypocrisie*) should so often and so grievously offend this way? To omit those two more *universal causes*; Almighty God's *permission* first, whose good pleasure it is for sundry wise and gracious ends, to exercise *his Church*, during her warfare here, with *heresies* and *scandals*: And then the *wiliness* of Satan, who cunningly observeth whether way our hearts incline most, to *loosness*, or to *strictness*, and then frameth his *temptations* thereafter: So he can but put us out of the way, it is no great matter to him on *whether* hand it be; he hath *his end* howsoever.

ever. Nor to insist upon sundry more *particular causes*; as namely, a natural proneness in all men to *superstition*; in many an *affectation of singularity*, to go beyond the ordinary sort of people in something or other; the difficulty of shunning one without running into *the contrary extreme*; the great force of *education and custome*; besides manifold *abuses, offences, and provocations* arising from *the carriage* of others, and the rest; I shall note but these two only, as the *two great fountains* of Errour (to which also most of the other may be reduced) *Ignorance* and *Partiality*; from neither of which God's dearest Servants and Children are in this life wholly exempted.

*Ignorance* first is a fruitful Mother of *Errours*; *Ye err not knowing the Scriptures, Matth. 22.* Yet not so much *gross ignorance* neither; I mean not that. For your meer *Ignorance's*, what they err, they err *for company*; they judge not at all, neither

ther according to the appearance, nor yet righteous judgment: They only run on with the herd, and follow as they are led, be it right or wrong, and never trouble themselves farther. But by Ignorance I mean weakness of judgment, which consisteth in a disproportion between the affections and the understanding; when a man is very earnest, but withal very shallow; readeth much, and heareth much, and thinketh that he knoweth much, but hath not the judgment to sever truth from falsehood, nor to discern between a sound argument and a captious fallacy. And so for want of ability to examine the soundness and strength of those principles from whence he fetcheth his conclusions, he is easily carried away, as our Apostle elsewhere speaketh, with vain words and empty arguments. As St. Augustine said of Donatus, *Rationes arripuit*, he catcheth hold of some reasons (as wranglers will catch at a small thing, rather than yield from their

their opinions) *quas considerantes, verisimiles esse potius quam veras invenimus*, which saith he, we found to have more *shew of probability* at the first appearance, than *substance of truth* after they were well considered of.

And I dare say, whosoever shall peruse with a judicious and impartial eye most of those *Pamphlets*, that in this daring Age have been thrust into the world against the *Ceremonies* of the Church, against *Episcopal Government* (to pass by things of lesser regard and usefulness, and more open to *exception* and *abuse*, yet, so far as I can understand, unjustly condemned as things *utterly unlawful*; such as are *lusorious lots, dancing, Stage-plays*, and some other things of like nature) when he shall have drained out the bitter *invectives*, unmannerly *jeers*, petulant *girding* at those that are in authority, impertinent *digressions*, but above all those most bold and *perverse wrestings* of holy *Scripture*,

ture, wherewith such Books are infinitely stuffed, he shall find that little poor remainder that is left behind to contain nothing but *vain words and empty arguments*. For when these great Undertakers have snatch'd up the Bucklers, as if they would make it good against all comers, that such and such things are *utterly unlawful*, and therefore ought in all reason and conscience to bring such *proofs* as will come up to that *conclusion*, *Quid dignum tanto?* very seldome shall you hear from them any other Arguments, than such as will conclude but an *inexpediency* at the most. As, that they are apt to *give scandal*; that they carry with them an *appearance of evil*; that they are often *occasions of sin*; that they are *not commanded* in the Word, and such like. Which *Objections*, even where they are *just*, are not of force (no not taken *altogether*, much less any of them *singly*) to prove a thing to be *utterly unlawful*. And yet are they glad  
many

many times, rather than fit out, to play very *small Game*, and to make use of *Arguments* yet *weaker* than these, and such as will not reach so far as to prove a bare *inexpediency*: As, that they were invented by *Heathens*; that they have been abused in *Popery*, and other such like: which, to my understanding, is a very *strong presumption*, that they have taken a very *weak cause* in hand, and such as is wholly destitute of sound proof.

*Quest.* Whether what the King and Parliament have determined may be altered to satisfy private men?

*Ans.* While things are in agitation, *private men* may, if any thing seem to them *inexpedient*, modestly tender their *thoughts*, together with the *reason* thereof, to the consideration of those that are in *authority*, to whose care and wisdom it belongeth, in prescribing any thing concerning *indifferent things*, to proceed with all just advisedness and mo-

moderation, that so the *Subject* may be encouraged to perform that *obedience* with chearfulness, which of necessity he must perform howsoever. It concerneth *Superiours* therefore to look well to the *expediency* and *inexpediency* of what they enjoin in indifferent things; wherein if there be a fault, it must lie upon their account; *the necessity of obedience* is to us a sufficient discharge in that behalf. Only it were good we did remember, that they are to give up that account to *God only*, and not to us. But after that things are once concluded and *established* by publick Authority, *Acts* passed, and *Constitutions* made concerning the same, and the will and pleasure of the *higher powers* sufficiently made known thererein; then for *private men* to put in their vie, and with *unseasonable diligence* to call in question the *decency* or *expediency* of the things so established, yea with *intolerable pride* to refuse *obedience* thereunto, meerly upon this pretension, that they

they are *undecent* or *inexpedient*, is it self the most *indecent* and *inexpedient* thing that can be imagined.

For that the fear of *offending a private brother*, is a thing not considerable in comparison of the duty of *obedience to a publick Governour*, might be shown so apparently by sundry arguments, if we had time to *enlarge* and illustrate them, as might sufficiently *convince* the judgment of any man not wilfully obstinate in that point. I shall only crave leave briefly to touch at some of them.

*First* then, when *Governours* shall have appointed what seemed to them *expedient*, and *private men* shall refuse to observe the same, pretending it to be *inexpedient*, who shall judge thereof? Either they themselves that take the exceptions must be *judges*, which is both unreasonable and preposterous; or else *every man* must be his own judge, which were to overthrow all Government, and to bring in a confusion,

6d, every man to do what is good in his own eyes; or else the known Governours must judge, and then you know what will follow, even to submit and obey.

Secondly, To allow men, under the pretence of *inexpediency*, and because of *some offence* that may be taken thereat, to disobey *Laws* and *Constitutions* made by those that are in Authority, were the next way to cut the sinews of all *Authority*, and to bring both *Magistrates* and *Laws* into contempt. For what *Law* ever was made, or can be made so just and so reasonable, but some man or other either did, or might take offence thereat? And what man that is disposed to disobey, but may pretend one *inexpediency* or other, wherewith to countenance out such his *disobedience*?

Thirdly, It is agreed by consent of all that handle the matter of *Scandal*, that we may not commit any sin whatsoever, be it never so small, for the avoiding of any *scandal*, be it

K                      never

never ſo great : But to *diſobey* lawful Authority in lawful things, is a ſin againſt the *ſiſth Commandment*. Therefore we may not redeem a ſcandal by ſuch our *diſobedience*, nor reſuſe to do the thing commanded by ſuch *Authority*, whoſoever ſhould take offence thereat.

*Fourthly*, Though *lawfulneſſ* and *unlawfulneſſ* be not, yet *expediency* and *inexpediency* are (as we heard) capable of the degrees of *more* and *leſſ*; and then in all reaſon, of *two inexpedient things* we are to do that which is *leſſ inexpedient*, for the avoiding of that which is more *inexpedient*. Say then there be an *inexpediency* in doing the thing commanded by Authority, when a brother is thereby offended; is there not a greater *inexpediency* in *not doing* it, when the *Magiſtrate* is thereby *diſobeyed*? Is it not more *expedient* and conducing to the *common good*, that a *publick Magiſtrate* ſhould be obeyed in a *juſt command*, than that a *private perſon* ſhould be gratified

gratified in a *causeless* scruple?  
*Fifthly*, When by refusing *obedience* to the lawful commands of our *Superiours*, we think to shun the *offending of one or two* weak brethren, we do in truth incur thereby a far *more grievous scandal*, by giving *offence to hundreds* of others, whose *Consciences* by our disobedience will be emboldned to that, whereto corrupt nature is but too too prone, to affront the Magistrate, and *despise the Authority*.

*Lastly*, Where we are not able to discharge both, *debts of justice* are to be payed before *debts of charity*. Now the duty of *obedience* is *debitum justitiæ*, and a matter of *right*; my *Superiour* may challenge it at my hands as his due, and I do him *wrong* if I withhold it from him. But the care of not giving offence is but *debitum charitatis*, and a matter but of *courtesie*. I am to perform it to my brother *in love*, when I see cause, but he cannot challenge it from me as *his right*; nor can justly

say I do him *wrong* if I neglect it. It is therefore no more lawful for me to *disobey* the lawful command of a *Superiour*, to prevent thereby the *offence* of one or a few *brethren*, than it is lawful for me to do one man *wrong*, to do another man a courtesie withal; or than it is lawful for me to rob the *Exchequer* to relieve an *Hospital*.

I see not yet how any of these *six Reasons* can be fairly avoided; and yet (which would be considered) if but *any one* of them hold good, it is enough to *carry the cause*; and therefore I hope there need be no more said in this matter. To conclude then, for the point of *practice* (which is the main thing I aimed at in the choice of *this Text*, and my whole Meditations thereon) we may take our direction in these *three Rules*, easie to be understood and remembred, and not hard to be observed in our practice, if we will but bring our good wills thereunto.

*First,*

*First*, If God command we must submit without any more ado, and not trouble our selves about *the expediency*, or so much as about *the unlawfulness*: for both, *Abraham* never disputed whether it were *expedient* for him, nor yet whether it were lawful for him to sacrifice his Son or no, when once it appeared to him that God would have it so.

*Secondly*, If our *Superiours*, endued with lawful Authority thereunto, command us any thing, we may, and (where we have *just cause of doubt*) we ought to enquire into *the unlawfulness* thereof; yet not with such *anxious curiosity*, as if we desired to find out some *loop-hole* whereby to evade, but with such *modest ingenuity*, as may witness to God and the World the unfeigned sincerity of our desires, both to *fear God*, and to *honour those* that he hath set over us. And if having used ordinary *moral diligence*, *bonâ fide*, to inform our selves the best we can, there appear no *unlaw-*

*false* in it; we are then also to *submit* and *obey* without any more ado, never troubling our selves farther to enquire whether it be *expedient*, yea or no. Let them that *command* us look to that; for it is they must *answer* for it, and not we.

But then *thirdly*, where *Authority* hath left us *free*, no *command*, either of God, or of those that are set over us under God, having *prescribed* any thing to us in that behalf, there it is at our own *liberty*, and *choice* to do as we shall think good. Yet are we not left so loose, as that we may do what we list, so as the thing be but *lawful* (for that were *licentiousness*, and not *liberty*;) but we must ever do that, which according to the exigence of *present circumstances* (so far as all the *wisdom* and *charity* we have will serve us to judge) shall seem to us *most expedient* and profitable to mutual *edification*. This is the way; God give us all grace to walk in it: so shall we bring *glory* to him, and to our *selves* comfort:

comfort: so shall we further his work onward, and our own account at the last.

*Quest. Whether they that have taken the Covenant may Renounce it?*

*Ans. Thirdly, Beware of engaging thy self to sin. It is a fearful thing when sin hath got a tie upon a man. Then is one properly in the snare of the Devil, when he hath him as it were in a string, and may lead him captive to what measure of presumption he will. And sundry ways may a man thus entangle himself; by a Verbal, by a Real, by a sinful Engagement. He shall do best to keep himself out of all these snares: but if once he be in, there is no way out again but one, even this, To loose his pledge, to break in funder the bonds wherein he is tied, as Sampson did the green withs, and to cast away those cords from him.*

A man hath bound himself rashly by some promise, vow, or covenant, to do something he may not do, or

not to do something he *ought to do*, he is now *engaged* in a sin; the Devil hath got *this tie* upon him: And though *his Conscience* tell him he cannot proceed without *sin*, yet because of his *Vow*, or his *Oath*, he is *wilful*, and must on. It was *Herod's* Case for taking off the *Baptist's* head; it was *against his Conscience* to do it, for he knew he had not *deserved* it; yea, and it was *against his mind* too to do it; for the Text saith, *he was exceeding sorry* that his Neece should put him upon it. But yet, saith the story withal, *for his Oath sake*, and because *the great ones* about him should not say but the King would be *as big as his word*, he resolved it should be done, and gave *commandment* accordingly to have it done, This I call a *Verbal Engagement*.

Quest. *Whether we English men may think our selves bound by the Solemn League and Covenant?*

*Answer.*

*Ans.* Without betraying the Liberty, which by our Protestation we are bound, and in the third Article of this Covenant must swear, *with our lives and fortunes to preserve.* To which Liberty the imposition of a new Oath, other than is established by Act of Parliament, is expressed in the *Petition of Right*, and by the Lords and Commons in their *Declarations* acknowledged to be contrary.

3. Without acknowledging in the imposers a greater power than, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former times challenged; or can consist with our former Protestation (if we rightly understand it) in sundry the most material branches thereof.

Neither, *secondly*, are we satisfied, although the Covenant should not be imposed on us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice.

1. How

1. How we ſhould in wiſdom and duty (being Subjects) of our own accord and free will, enter into a Covenant, wherein he, whoſe Subjects we are, is in any wiſe concerned, without his conſent, either expreſſed or reaſonably preſumed. It being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the Law, *Numb.* 30. to annul and make void the ſame at his pleaſure.

2. How we can (now that his Maieſty hath by his publick *Interdict* ſufficiently made known his pleaſure in that behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expreſſy forbidden, without forfeiting that Obedience, which (as we are perſwaded) by our natural Allegiance and former Oaths we owe unto all ſuch his Maieſties Commands, as are not in our apprehenſions repugnant to the will of God, or the poſitive Laws of this Kingdom.

well . . .

Queſt.

Quest. What shall a man do, that scruples in Conscience what Authority enjoyns as unlawful.

Ans. But then thirdly, if the liberty of the agent be determined by the command of some superiour power to whom he oweth obedience, so as he is not now *sui juris ad hoc*, to do or not to do at his own choice, but to do what he is commanded: this one circumstance quite altereth the whole case, and now he is bound in Conscience to do the thing commanded; his doubtfulness of mind, whether that thing be lawful or no, notwithstanding. To do that whereof he doubteth, where he hath free liberty to leave it undone, bringeth upon him (as we have already shewn) the guilt of wilful transgression; but not so, where he is not left to his own liberty. And where lawful authority prescribeth in *alterutram partem*, there the liberty *ad utramque partem contradictionis* is taken away, from so many as are under that Authority. If they  
that

that are over them have determined it *one way*, it is not thenceforth any more at their choice, whether they will take *that way* or *the contrary*: but they must go the way that is appointed them, without gainsaying or grudging. And if in the deed done at *the command* of one that is endued with lawful Authority there be a *sin*, it must go on his score that requireth it wrongfully, not on his that doth but his duty in obeying. A Prince commandeth his *Subjects* to serve in his Wars; it may be the quarrel is *unjust*, it may be there may appear to the understanding of the Subject great likelyhoods of such *injustice*, yet may *the Subject* for all that *fight* in that quarrel; yea, he is bound in Conscience so to do: nay, he is deep in disloyalty and treason if *he refuse* the service, whatsoever pretensions he may make of *Conscience* for such refusal. Neither need that fear trouble him, lest he should bring upon himself the guilt of *innocent blood*; for *the blood* that is

un-

unrighteously shed in that quarrel, he must answer for that *set him on work*, not he that *spilt it*. And truly it is a great wonder to me, that any man endued with understanding, and that is able in any measure to weigh the force of those *precepts* and *reasons* which bind *inferiours* to yield obedience to their *superiours*, should be otherwise minded in cases of like nature. Whatsoever is commanded us by those whom God hath set over us, either in Church, Commonwealth, or Family (*Quod tamen non sit certum displicere Deo*, saith St. Bernard) which is not evidently contrary to the Law and will of God, ought to be of us received and obeyed no otherwise, than as if God himself had commanded it, because God himself hath commanded us to *obey the higher powers*, and to *submit our selves to their ordinances*. Say it be not well done of them to command it, *Sed enim quid hoc refert tuâ?* saith he, What is that to thee? Let them  
look

154 *Bp. Sanderson's Judgment*  
look to that whom it concerneth :  
*Tolle quod tuum est, & vade.* Do  
thou what is thine own part faith-  
fully, and never trouble thy self fur-  
ther. *Ipsam, quem pro Deo habemus,*  
*tanquam Deum in hac qua aperte non*  
*sunt contra Deum audire debemus ;*  
*Bernard* still. God's Vicegerents  
must be heard and obeyed in all  
things that are not manifestly con-  
trary to the revealed will of God.

But the thing required is *against my*  
*conscience*, may some say, & I may not  
go *against my conscience* for any mans  
pleasure. Judge I pray you what per-  
verseness is this, when the B. Apostle  
commandeth thee *to obey for Consci-*  
*ence sake*, that thou shouldst *disobey*,  
and that for *Conscience sake* too: He  
chargeth thee upon thy Conscience  
to *be subject*, and thou pretendest thy  
Conscience to *free thee* from subje-  
ction. This by the way ; now to  
the point. Thou sayest it is *against*  
*thy Conscience* ; I say again, that (in  
the case whereof we now speak, the  
case of *doubtfulness*) it is not *against*  
thy Conscience : For doubting pro-  
perly

perly is *motus indifferens in utramque partem contradictionis*, when the mind is held in suspense between two ways, uncertain whether of both to take to; when the Scales hang even (as I said before) and *in equilibrio*, without any notable propension or inclination to the one side more than to the other. And surely where things hang thus even, if the weight of Authority will not cast the Scale either way, we may well suppose that either the Authority is made very light, or else there is a great fault in the beam. Know (Brethren) the gainsaying Conscience is one thing, and the doubting Conscience another. That which is done *repugnante conscientia*, the Conscience of the doer flatly gainsaying it, that is indeed against a man's Conscience, the Conscience having already passed a definitive sentence the one way, and no respect or circumstance whatsoever can free it from sin. But that which is done *dubitante conscientia*, the Conscience

ence of the doer only doubting of it; and no more; that is in truth no more *against a man's Conscience* than *with it* (the Conscience as yet not having passed a *definitive sentence* either way;) and such an action may either be a *sin*, or *no sin*; according to those qualifications which it may receive from other respects and circumstances. If the Conscience have already passed a *judgment* upon a thing, and *condemned* it as simply unlawful; in that case it is true, that a man ought not by any means to do that thing, no not at *the command* of any Magistrate; no, not although his *Conscience* have pronounced a *wrong sentence*, and erred in that judgment; for then he should do it *repugnante conscientia*, he should go directly against his own *Conscience*, which he ought not to do whatsoever come of it. In such a case certainly he may not obey *the Magistrate*; yet let him know thus much withal, that he sinneth too in *disobeying* the Magistrate; from which

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fin the following of *the judgment* of his own *Conscience* cannot acquit him. And this is that fearful *perplexity* whereof I spake, whereunto many a man casteth himself by his own *error* and *obstinacy*, that he can neither go *with* his *Conscience*, nor *against* it, but he shall sin. And who can help it, if a man will needs cherish *an error*, and persist in it? But now if *the Conscience* be only doubtful, whether a thing be *lawful* or no, but have not as yet passed a *peremptory judgment* against it (yea, although it rather incline to think it *unlawful*) in that case if the Magistrate shall *command* it to be done, the Subject with a good *Conscience* may do it; nay, he cannot with a good *Conscience* *refuse* to do it, though it be *dubitante conscientia*.

But you will yet say, that in doubtful cases *the safer part* is to be chosen. So say I too; and am content *that rule* should decide *this question*; only let it be rightly applied. Thou

L                      thinkest

thinkest it *safer*, where thou doubt-  
est of the unlawfulness, to *forbear*  
than to *do*: As for example, if thou  
doubtest whether it be lawful to  
*kneel* at the Communion, it is safest  
in thy opinion therefore for thee *not*  
*to kneel*. So should I think too, if  
thou wert left meerly to thine own  
*liberty*. But thou dost not consider  
how thou art caught in thine own  
net, and how the edge of thine own  
weapon may be turned upon thee  
point-blank, not to be avoided, thus.

If Authority command thee to  
*kneel*, which whether it be lawful  
for thee to do, or not, *thou doubtest*;  
it cannot choose but thou must  
needs *doubt* also, whether thou may-  
est lawfully *disobey*, or not. Now  
then here apply thine own Rule, *In*  
*dubius pars tutior*, and see what will  
come of it. Judge, since thou canst  
not but *doubt* in both cases, whether  
it be not *the safer* of the two, to *o-*  
*bey* doubtingly, than to *disobey*  
doubtingly. *Tene certum, demitte*  
*incertum*, is St. Gregory his rule,  
where

where there is a certainty, and an uncertainty, let the uncertainty go, and hold to that which is certain. Now the general is certain, that thou art to obey the Magistrate in all things not contrary to the will of God; but the particular is uncertain, whether the thing now commanded thee by the Magistrate be contrary to the will of God; (I say uncertain to thee, because thou doubtest of it.) Deal safely therefore, and hold thee to that which is certain, and obey.

But thou wilt yet alledge, that the Apostle here condemneth the doing of any thing, not only with a gainsaying, but even with a doubting Conscience, because doubting also is contrary to faith; and he that doubteth is even for that condemned, if he eat. O beware of misapplying Scripture! it is a thing easily done, but not so easily answered. I know not any one Gap that hath let in more, and more dangerous Errors into the Church, than this,

That men take *the word* of the sacred Text, fitted to *particular occasions*, and to the condition of the *times* wherein they were written, and then *apply* them to themselves, and others, as they find them, without due respect had to *the differences* that may be between those *times* and *cases*, and the present. Sundry things spoken of in Scripture agreeably to that *infancy* of the Church, would sort very ill with the Church in her fulness of *strength* and *stature*; and sundry directions very expedient in times of *persecution*, and when Believers lived mingled with *Infidels*, would be very unseasonably urged, where the Church is in a *peaceable* and *flourishing* estate, enjoying the *favour*, and living under *the protection* of gracious and religious Princes. Thus *the Constitutions* that the Apostles made concerning *Deacons* and *Widows* in those primitive times, are with much importunity, but very importunately withal, urged by *the Disciplinarians*:

*plinarrians*: And sundry other like things I might instance of this kind, worthy the discovery, but that I fear to grow tedious. Briefly then, the Apostles whole Discourse in this Chapter, and so wheresoever else he toucheth upon the point of *Scandals*, is to be understood only in that case where men are left to *their own liberty* in the use of indifferent things: The *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and others to whom St. Paul wrote about these matters, being not *limited* any way in the exercise of their *liberty* therein by any over-ruling *Authority*. But where the Magistrates have interposed, and thought good upon mature advice to *impose Laws* upon those that are under them, whereby their *liberty* is (not *infringed*, as some unjustly complain, in the *inward judgment*, but only) *limited* in the *outward exercise* of it; there the Apostolical directions will not hold in the same *absolute manner*, as they were delivered to those

whom they then concerned; but only in *the equity* of them, so far forth as the cases are alike, and with such meet *qualifications* and *mitigations*, as the difference of the cases otherwise doth require. So that a man ought not, out of private fancy, or meerly because he would not be observed for not doing as others do, or for any the like weak respects, to do that thing, of the *lawfulness* whereof he is not *competently perswaded*, where it is *free* for him to do otherwise; which was the case of these *weak ones* among *the Romans*, for whose sakes principally the Apostle gave these directions. But the *Authority* of the Magistrates intervening so, alters the case, that such a forbearance as to them was necessary, is to as many of us as are commanded to do this or that, altogether *unlawful*, in regard they were *free*, and we are bound, for the Reasons already shewn, which I now rehearse not. But you will yet

yet say ( for in point of *obedience* men are very loath to *yield*, so long as they can find any thing to *plead*) those that lay *these burdens* upon us, at leastwise should do well to *satisfie our doubts*, and to *inform* our Consciences concerning *the lawfulness* of what they enjoyn, that so we might render them *obedience* with better *chearfulness*. How willing are we sinful men to leave the blame of our miscarriages any where, rather than upon our selves! But how is it not incongruous the while, that those men should *prescribe rules* to their Governours, who can scarcely brook their Governours should *prescribe Laws* to them? It were good we should first *learn* how to *obey*, ere we take upon us to *teach* our betters how to *govern*. However, what *Governours* are bound to do, or what is fit for them to do in the point of *information*, that is not now the question. If they fail in any part of *their*

bounden *duty*, they shall be sure to reckon for it one day; but their *failing* cannot, in the mean time, excuse *thy disobedience*. Although I think it would prove a hard task for whosoever should undertake it, to shew that *Superiours* are always bound to *inform* the Consciences of their Inferiours concerning the lawfulness of every thing they shall command. If sometimes they do it, where they see it *expedient* or *needful*; sometimes again (and that perhaps oftner) it may be thought more *expedient* for them, and more *conducible* for the publick peace and safety, only to make known to the people what their pleasures are, reserving to themselves the *Reasons* thereof. I am sure, in the point of *Ecclesiastical Ceremonies* and *Constitutions* (in which case the aforesaid Allegations are usually most stood upon) this hath been abundantly done in our Church, not only in the learn-

learned writings of sundry *private men*, but by the *publick declaration* also of Authority, as is to be seen at large in the *Preface* commonly printed before the *Book of Common Prayer*, concerning that Argument, enough to satisfie those that are peaceable, and not disposed to stretch their wits to cavil at things established. And thus much of the *second Question*, touching a *doubting Conscience*; whereon I have insisted the longer, because it is a point both so proper to the *Text*, and whereat so many have stumbled.

There remaineth but one *other Question*, and that of far smaller difficulty; What is to be done when the Conscience is *scrupulous*? I call that a *scruple*, when a man is reasonably well perswaded of the *lawfulness* of a thing, yet hath withal some *jealousies* and *fears*, lest perhaps it should prove

prove unlawful. Such scruples are most incident to men of *melancholy* dispositions, or of *timorous* Spirits, especially if they be *tender conscienced* withal; and they are much encreased by the false *suggestions* of Satan, by reading *the Books*, or hearing *the Sermons*, or frequenting *the company* of men more strict, precise, and austere in sundry points, than they need or ought to be; and by sundry other means which I now mention not. Of which *scruples* it behooveth every man, *first*, to be wary that he doth not at all *admit them*, if he can choose: Or if he cannot wholly avoid them, that, *secondly*, he endeavour, so far as may be, *to eject* them speedily out of his thoughts, as *Satan's snares*, and things that may breed him worser inconveniencies: Or, if he cannot be so rid of them, that then, *thirdly*, he resolve to go on according to the

the more *profitable persuasion* of his mind, and *despise* those scruples. And this he may do with a good Conscience, not only in things *commanded* him by lawful *Authority*, but even in things *indifferent* and arbitrary, and wherein he is left to his own *liberty*.

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to more terrible tortures of  
 the mind, and while the  
 And as he says, his will  
 good Conscience, not only in  
 but also in his heart, by having  
 always, but even in things  
 of the most trifling nature, and where  
 in his life, his own way.

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REA-

# REASONS

Of the present

## JUDGMENT

OF THE

University of *OXFORD*,

Concerning

The { *Solemn League and Covenant.*  
*Negative Oath.*  
*Ordinances concerning Disci-*  
*pline and Worship.*

Approved by general consent in a  
full Convocation, *June 1. 1647.*

And presented to Con-  
sideration.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Richard Marriott.*

1 6 7 8.

THE SONS

1811



A Solemn League and  
Covenant for Reformation and Defence of  
Religion, the honour  
and happiness of the  
King, and the Peace and  
Safety of the three  
Kingdoms, *England,*  
*Scotland,* and *Ireland.*

**W**E Noblemen, Barons,  
Knights, Gentlemen, Ci-  
tizens, Burgessees, Mini-  
sters of the Gospel, and Commons  
of

of all sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the Providence of God living under one King; and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty, and his Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms wherein every ones private Devotion is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick Testimonies;  
We

*We have now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the preservation of our selves and our Religion from utter ruine and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the Example of God's People in other Nations; after mature deliberation resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God; do swear:*

I.

**T**HAT we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common E-

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nemies;

enemies; The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches: And shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing; That we and our Posterity after us may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

## II.

That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons,

deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

### III.

We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesties person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our Consciences of our Loyal-

ty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majestie's just power and greatness.

#### IV.

We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And

## V.

And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitours, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firm Peace and union to all Posterity; And that Justice may be done upon the wilfull opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

## VI.

We shall also according to our places and callings in this common cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the

maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer our selves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

*And because these Kingdoms are  
guilty of many sins and provocations  
against*

against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the causes of our sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these

Churches and Kingdoms in truth  
and peace. And this Covenant we  
make in the presence of Almighty  
God the searcher of all hearts, with  
a true intention to perform the same,  
as we shall answer at that great day,  
when the secrets of all hearts shall  
be disclosed; most humbly beseech-  
ing the Lord to strengthen us by his  
holy Spirit for this end, and to bless  
our desires and proceedings with  
such success, as may be deliverance  
and safety to his people, and encour-  
agement to other Christian Church-  
es groaning under, or in danger of  
the yoke of Antichristian tyranny,  
to joyn in the same or like Associati-  
on and Covenant, to the glory of  
God, the enlargement of the King-  
dom of Jesus Christ, and the peace  
and tranquillity of Christian King-  
doms and Commonwealths.

The

## The Negative Oath.

**I** A. B. do swear from my heart, That I will not, directly nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly assist the King in this War, or in this Cause, against the Parliament, nor any Forces raised without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament, in this Cause or War. And I do likewise swear, That my coming and submitting myself under the Power and  
Pro-

Protection of the Parli-  
ment, is without any man-  
ner of Design whatsoever,  
to the prejudice of the pro-  
ceedings of this present  
Parliament, and without  
the direction, privy, or ad-  
vice of the King, or any of  
his Council or Officers, other  
than what I have now made  
known. So help me God,  
and the Contents of this  
Book.

Reasons



*Reasons why the University of Oxford cannot submit to the Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinance concerning Discipline and Directory mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament for the Visitation of that place.*

**W**<sup>H</sup>ereas by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Visitation

sitation and Reformation of the University of *Oxford* lately published, power is given to certain persons therein named as Visitors, to enquire concerning those of the said University that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being rendred unto them, and likewise concerning those that oppose the execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Discipline and Directory, or shall not promote or cause the same to be put in execution, according to their several places and callings, We the Masters, Scholars, and other Officers and Members of the said University, not to judge the Consciences of others, but to clear our selves before God and the world from all suspicion of Obstinacy, whilst we discharge our own, present to consideration the true reasons of our present Judgment concerning the said Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances; expecting so much Justice, and hoping for so much Charity, as  
either

either not to be pressed to conform to what is required in any the Premises, further than our present Judgments will warrant us; or not condemned for the refusing so to do, without clear and real satisfaction given to our just Scruples.

§. I.

*Of the Preface to the Covenant.*

THE Exceptions against the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we insist not much upon, because it may be said to be no part of the Covenant; yet among the things therein contained, the acknowledgment whereof is implicitly required of every Covenanter,

1. We are not able to say, *That the rage, power, and presumption of the enemies of God (in the sense there intended) is at this time increased.*

2. Nor

2. Nor can truly affirm that we had used, or given consent to any *Supplication* or *Remonstrance* to the purposes therein expressed.
3. Nor do conceive the entering into such a mutual League and Covenant to be a lawful, proper, and probable means to *preserve our selves and our Religion from ruine and destruction.*
4. Nor can believe the same to be *according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms, or the example of God's people in other Nations.* When we find not the least foot-step in our Histories of a sworn Covenant ever entered into by the people of this Kingdom upon any occasion whatsoever; nor can readily remember any commendable Example of the like done in any other Nation; but  
are

against the Covenant, &c.

173

are rather told by the defenders of this Covenant, that  
\* the World never saw the like  
before.

\* Such an  
Oath, as  
for Matter,  
Persons,  
and other  
Circum-  
stances, the

like hath not been in any Age or Oath we read of in sacred or humane stories. M. Nye, Covenant with Narrative, pag. 12.

§. II.

Of the Covenant in gross.

First, we are not satisfied how we  
can submit to the taking there-  
of, as it is now imposed under a pe-  
nalty.

I.

1. Such imposition (to our seem-  
ing) being repugnant to the  
nature of a Covenant, which  
being a Contract, implieth a  
† *voluntary mutual consent* of  
the Contractors; whereunto  
men are to be induced by per-  
swasions, not compelled by pow-  
er. Insomuch that the very  
words of this Covenant in the  
Preface, Conclusion, and whole  
Frame thereof run in such a  
form

† *Pactum*  
*est duorum*  
*pluriumque*  
*in idem*  
*placitum*  
*consensus.*  
*L. i. ff. de*  
*Pactis.*

form throughout, as import a consent rather grounded upon prudential motives, than extorted by Rigour.

2. Without betraying the Liberty, which by our protestation we are bound, and in the third Article of this Covenant must swear, *with our lives and fortunes to preserve.* To which Liberty the imposition of a new Oath, other than is established by Act of Parliament, is expressed in the \* *Petition of Right*, and by the Lords and Commons in their † *Declarations* acknowledged to be contrary.

\* *whereas many of them have had an Oath administered unto them*

*not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; They do humbly pray that no man hereafter be compelled to take such an Oath — All which they most humbly pray — as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.* Petition of Right, 3. Carol. † It is declared, 16 Jan. 1642. That the King cannot compell men to be sworn without an Act of Parliament. Exact. Collect. pag. 859, 860.

3. Without acknowledging in the Imposers a greater power than, for ought that appeareth to us, hath

hath been in former time challenged; Or can consist with our former Protestation (if we rightly understand it) in sundry the most material branches thereof.

Neither, secondly, are we satisfied, although the Covenant should not be imposed upon us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice;

1. How we should in wisdom and duty (being Subjects) of our own accord and free will enter into a Covenant, wherein He, whose Subjects we are, is in any wise concerned, without his consent, either expressed or reasonably presumed. It being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the Law; *Numb. 30.* to annul and make void the same at his pleasure.

2. How we can (now that his Majesty hath by His publick \* *Interdict* sufficiently made known His pleasure in that behalf) en-

\* Proclam.  
of 9. Octob.  
19 Car.

N

ter

ter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expressly forbidden, without forfeiting that Obedience, which (as we are perswaded) by our natural Allegiance and former Oaths we owe unto all such His Majesties Commands, as are not in our apprehensions repugnant to the will of God, or the positive Laws of this Kingdom.

§. III.

*Of the first Article of the Covenant.*

**W**Herein, first, we are not satisfied, how we can with judgment swear to endeavour to preserve the Religion of another Kingdom;

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to have very much, so we profess to have very little understanding.
2. Which (so far as the occurrences of these unhappy times have brought it to our knowledge,  
and

and we are able to judge ) is in three of the four specified particulars, *viz. Worship, Discipline and Government*, much worse; and in the fourth (that of *Doctrine*) not at all better than our own; which we are in the next passage of the Article required to reform.

3. Wherein if hereafter we shall find any thing (as upon farther understanding thereof it is not impossible we may) that may seem to us favouring of *Pope-ry, Superstition, Heresie, or Schism*, or contrary to sound *Doctrine*, or the power of godlineß; we shall be bound by the next Article to endeavour the extirpation, after we have bound our selves by this first Article to the preservation thereof.

4. Wherein we already find some things (to our thinking ) so far tending towards † *Super-*

† (Viz.) In accounting Bishops Antichristian, and indifferent Ceremonies unlawful.

\* (Viz.) In  
making  
their Dis-  
cipline and  
Govern-  
ment a  
mark of  
the true  
Church,  
and the  
setting up thereof the erasing of the Throne of Christ.

*stition* and \* *Schism*, that it seemeth to us more reasonable that we should call upon them to reform the same, than that they should call upon us to preserve it.

2. Secondly, we are not satisfied in the next branch, concerning the Reformation of Religion in our own Kingdom, in *Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government*; How we can swear to endeavour the same (which without making a change therein cannot be done,)

1. Without *manifest scandal to the Papist and Separatist*,

1. By yielding the Cause, which our godly Bishops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever since the Reformation, have both by their writings and sufferings maintained; who have justified, against them both, the Religion established in the  
Church

Church of *England* to be agreeable to the Word of God.

2. By justifying the Papists in the reproaches and scorn by them cast upon our Religion, whose usual Objection it hath been and is, That we know not what our Religion is ; that since we left them, we cannot tell where to stay ; and that our Religion is a † *Parliamentary Religion*.

† Let us  
not be  
blamed if  
we call it

*Parliament Religion, Parliament Gospel, Parliament Faith.* Ward-  
ing, confut. of Apology, Part 6. Chap. 2,

3. By a tacite acknowledgment that there is something both in the Doctrine and Worship, whereunto their conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the Word of God, and consequently justifying them both, the one in his Recusancy, the other in his Separation.
4. By an implied Confession, That the Laws formerly made against Papists in this Kingdom,

and all punishments by virtue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjust; in punishing them for refusing to joyn with us in that form of Worship, which our selves (as well as they) do not approve of.

2. Without *manifest wrong unto our selves*, our Consciences, Reputation and Estates; in bearing false witness against our selves, and sundry other ways: by swearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vicious,

1. Which we have formerly by our Personal Subscriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word; and have not been since either condemned by our own hearts for so doing, or convinced in our Judgments by any of our Brethren that therein we did amiss.

2. Which in our Consciences we are perswaded, not to be in any of the four Specified Particulars (as it standeth by Law established)

ed) much less in the whole  
four, against the Word of God.

3. Which we verily believe (and,  
as we think, upon good grounds)  
to be in sundry respects much  
better, and more agreeable to  
the Word of God, and the pra-  
ctice of the Catholick Church,  
than that which we should by  
the former words of this Arti-  
cle swear to preserve.

4. Whereunto the † Laws yet in † Stat. 13.  
force require of all such Clerks Eliq. 12.  
as shall be admitted to any Be-  
nefice, the signification of their  
heartly assent, to be attested o-  
penly in the time of Divine  
Service before the whole Con-  
gregation there present, with-  
in a limited time, and that un-  
der pain (upon default made)  
of the loss of every such Bene-  
fice.

3. Without *manifest danger of*  
*Perjury*: This branch of the Arti-  
cle (to our best understandings)  
seeming directly contrary,

1. To our former solemn Protestation, which we have bound our selves, neither for hope, fear, or other respect ever to relinquish. Wherein the Doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the name of the *true Protestant Religion expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England*, we take to be the same which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacy, by us also taken, according to the Laws of the Realm, and the Statutes of our University in that behalf. Wherein having first testified and declared in our Consciences, That the King's Highness is the only supreme Governour of this Realm, we do after swear to our power to assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Preheminences, and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's High-

Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. One of the which Priviledges and Preheminences, by an expresse Statute so annexed, and that even, *interminis*, in the self-same words in a manner with those used in the Oath, is the whole power of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, for the correction and reformation of all manner of errors and abuses in matters Ecclesiastical: as by the \* words of the said Statute more at large appeareth. The Oath affording the *Proposition*, and the Statute the *Assumption*, we find no way how to avoid the *Conclusion*.

\* Such Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Superiorities and Preheminences Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any, &c. for

the Visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and Persons, and for Reformation, Order and Correction of the same, and of all manner of Errours, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities, shall for ever by Authority of this present Parliament be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction, &c. 1 Eliz. 1.

## §. IV.

*Of the second Article of the Covenant.*

1.

**F**irst, It cannot but affect us with some grief and amazement, to see that ancient form of Church Government, which we heartily (and, as we hope, worthily) honour; as under which our Religion was at first so orderly, without violence or tumult, and so happily reformed, and hath since so long flourished with Truth and Peace, to the honour and happiness of our own, and the envy and admiration of other Nations, not only

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated; without any reason offered to our Understandings, for which it should be thought necessary, or but so much as expedient so to do. But also

2. Ranked with *Popery, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, and Prophaneness*; which we unfeignedly

edly profess our selves to detest as much as any others whatsoever.

3. And that with some intimation also, as if that Government were some way or other so *contrary to sound Doctrine, or the power of godliness*, that whosoever should not endeavour the extirpation thereof must of necessity *partake in other mens sins*, which we cannot yet be persuaded to believe.

4. And we desire it may be considered, in case a Covenant of like form should be tender'd to the Citizens of *London*, wherein they should be required to swear, they would sincerely, really and constantly, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of *Treason, the City Government* (by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Council, and other Officers depending thereon) *Murther, Adultery, Theft, Co-senage,*

senage, and whatsoever shall be ——— &c. lest they should partake in other mens sins; whether such a tendry could be looked upon by any Citizen that had the least spirit of freedom in him as an act of Justice; Meekness, and Reason.

2.

Secondly, for Episcopal Government; we are not satisfied how we can with a good Conscience swear to endeavour the extirpation thereof, In respect of the thing it self. Concerning which Government we think we have reason to believe,

1. That it is (if not *Jure Divino* in the strictest sense, that is to say, expressly commanded by God in his Word, yet) of *Apostolical Institution*; that is to say, was established in the Churches by the Apostles, according to the mind, and after the Example of their Master (*Jesus Christ*), and that by virtue of their ordinary Power and Au-

Authority derived from him, as deputed by him Governours of his Church.

2. Or at least, that *Episcopal Aristocracy* hath a fairer pretension, and may lay a juster title and claim to a Divine Institution than any of the other Forms of Church Government can do, all which yet do pretend thereunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Presbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular Congregations, or gathered Churches.

2. But we are assured by the undoubted Testimony of ancient Records and later Histories, that this Form of Government hath been continued with such an universal, uninterrupted, unquestioned succession in all the Churches of God, and in all Kingdoms that have been called Christian throughout the whole world for fifteen hundred years together; that there never was in all that time

time any considerable opposition made there against. That of *Aerius* was the greatest, wherein yet there was little of consideration, beside these two things: That it grew at the first but out of discontent; and gained him at the last but the reputation of an Heretick. From which antiquity and continuance we have just cause to fear, that to endeavour the extirpation thereof,

1. Would give such advantage to the Papists, who usually object against us, and our Religion, the contempt of Antiquity, and the love of Novelty; that we should not be able to wipe off the aspersion.
2. Would so diminish the just Authority due to the consentient judgment and practice of the Universal Church (the best Interpreter of Scripture in things not clearly exprest; for *Lex currit cum praxi* :) that without it we should be at a loss in sundry points both of *Faith* and *Man-*

*Manners*, at this day firmly believed and securely practiced by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, we should be called upon for our proofs: As namely, sundry Orthodoxal Explications concerning the Trinity and Coequality of the Persons in the Godhead, against the Arians and other Hereticks; the number, use and efficacy of Sacraments; the Baptizing of Infants; National Churches; the observation of the Lord's Day; and even the Canon of Scripture it self.

Thirdly, *In respect of our selves*; we are not satisfied, how it can stand with the Principles of *Justice, Ingenuity, and Humanity*, to require the extirpation of Episcopal Government (unless it had been first clearly demonstrated to be unlawful) to be sincerely and really endeavoured by us,

3.

1. Who have all of us, who have taken

† Art. 36.

1. taken any Degree by subscribing the 39 Articles; testified our approbation of that Government: one of those † Articles affirming the very Book, containing the Form of their *Consecration*, to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.

2. Who have most of us (*viz.* as many as have entred into the Ministry) received Orders from their hands, whom we should very ill requite for laying their hands upon us, if we should now lay to our hands to root them up, and cannot tell for what.

3. Who have sundry of us, since the beginning of this Parliament, subscribed our Names to Petitions exhibited, or intended to be exhibited, to that High Court, for the continuance of that Government: which as we then did sincerely and really, so we should with  
like

like sincerity and reality, still (not having met with any thing since to shew us our error) be ready to do the same again, if we had the same hopes we then had of the reception of such Petitions.

4. Who hold some of us our livelihood, either in whole or part, by those Titles of *Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c.* mentioned in the Articles; being Members of some Collegiate or Cathedral Churches. And our memories will not readily serve us with any Example in this kind since the world began; wherein any state or profession of men, though convicted (as we are not) of a Crime that might deserve Deprivation, were required to bind themselves by Oath, *sincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that (in it self not unlawful) together wherewith they must also root out themselves, O their

senage, and whatsoever shall be ——— &c. lest they should partake in other mens sins; whether such a tendry could be looked upon by any Citizen that had the least spirit of freedom in him as an act of Justice; Meekness, and Reason.

2. Secondly, for Episcopal Government; we are not satisfied how we can with a good Conscience swear to endeavour the extirpation thereof, *In respect of the thing it self.* Concerning which Government we think we have reason to believe,

1. That it is (if not *Jure Divino* in the strictest sense, that is to say, expressly commanded by God in his Word, yet) of *Apostolical Institution*; that is to say, was established in the Churches by the Apostles, according to the mind, and after the Example of their Master *Jesus Christ*, and that by virtue of their ordinary Power and  
Au-

Authority derived from him, as deputed by him Governours of his Church.

2. Or at least, that *Episcopal Aristocracy* hath a fairer pretension, and may lay a juster title and claim to a Divine Institution than any of the other Forms of Church Government can do, all which yet do pretend thereunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Presbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular Congregations, or gathered Churches.

2. But we are assured by the undoubted Testimony of ancient Records and later Histories, that this Form of Government hath been continued with such an universal, uninterrupted, unquestioned succession in all the Churches of God, and in all Kingdoms that have been called Christian throughout the whole world for fifteen hundred years together; that there never was in all that time

time any considerable opposition made there against. That of *Aerius* was the greatest, wherein yet there was little of consideration, beside these two things: That it grew at the first but out of discontent; and gained him at the last but the reputation of an Heretick. From which antiquity and continuance we have just cause to fear, that to endeavour the extirpation thereof,

1. Would give such advantage to the Papists, who usually object against us, and our Religion, the contempt of Antiquity, and the love of Novelty; that we should not be able to wipe off the aspersion.
2. Would so diminish the just Authority due to the consentient judgment and practice of the Universal Church (the best Interpreter of Scripture in things not clearly exprest; for *Lex currit cum praxi*;) that without it we should be at a loss in sundry points both of *Faith* and *Man*.

*Manners*, at this day firmly believed and securely practiced by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, we should be called upon for our proofs: As namely, sundry Orthodoxal Explications concerning the Trinity and Coequality of the Persons in the Godhead, against the Arians and other Hereticks; the number, use and efficacy of Sacraments; the Baptizing of Infants; National Churches; the observation of the Lord's Day; and even the Canon of Scripture it self.

Thirdly, *In respect of our selves*; 3.  
we are not satisfied, how it can stand with the Principles of *Justice, Ingenuity, and Humanity*, to require the extirpation of Episcopal Government (unless it had been first clearly demonstrated to be unlawful) to be sincerely and really endeavoured by us,

I. Who have all of us, who have taken

† Art. 36.

taken any Degree by subscribing the 39 Articles, testified our approbation of that Government: one of those † Articles affirming the very Book, containing the Form of their *Consecration*, to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.

2. Who have most of us (*viz.* as many as have entred into the Ministry) received Orders from their hands, whom we should very ill requite for laying their hands upon us, if we should now lay to our hands to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have sundry of us, since the beginning of this Parliament, subscribed our Names to Petitions exhibited, or intended to be exhibited, to that High Court, for the continuance of that Government: which as we then did sincerely and really, so we should with  
like

like sincerity and reality, still (not having met with any thing since to shew us our error) be ready to do the same again, if we had the same hopes we then had of the reception of such Petitions.

4. Who hold some of us our livelihood, either in whole or part, by those Titles of *Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c.* mentioned in the Articles; being Members of some Collegiate or Cathedral Churches. And our memories will not readily serve us with any Example in this kind since the world began; wherein any state or profession of men, though convicted (as we are not) of a Crime that might deserve Deprivation, were required to bind themselves by Oath, *sincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that (in it self not unlawful) together wherewith they must also root out themselves,  
O their

- their Estates and Livelyhoods.
5. Especially it being usual in most of the said Churches, that such persons as are admitted Members thereof, have a personal Oath administred unto them, to maintain the Honour, Immunities, Liberties, and Profits of the same; and whilst they live to seek the good, and not to do any thing to the hurt, hindrance, or prejudice thereof; or in other words to the like effect.

Fourthly, *In respect of the Church of England*; we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the established Government, no necessity or just cause for so doing, either offering it self, or being offered to our Understandings.

1. Since all Change of Government unavoidably bringeth with it, besides those that are present and evident, sundry other inconveniences, which no  
wit

wit of man can possibly foresee to provide against, till late experience discover them: We cannot be sure, that the evils which may ensue upon the Change of this Government (which hath been of so long continuance in this Kingdom, is so deeply rooted in the Laws thereof, and hath so near a conjunction with, and so strong an influence upon the Civil State and Government, as that the Change thereof must infer the necessity of a great alteration to be made in the other also;) may not be greater than the supposed evils whatsoever they are, which by this Change are sought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our knowledge of that desperate nature, as not to be capable of other remedy, than the utter extirpation of the whole Government it self.

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vernment --

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monst. 15  
Dec. 1641.  
Exaft.  
Collect. p.  
19. The  
Lords and  
Commons  
do declare,  
That they  
intend a

due and necessary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing in the one or in the other, but what shall be evil, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome: Declar. 9 Apr. 1642. Exaft. Coll. p. 135.

† Statute  
of Carlisle  
25 E. 1. re-  
cited 25  
E. 3.

2. Whereas the House of Commons have \* remonstrated, That it was far from their purpose or desire to *abolish the Church Government*, but rather that *all the Members of the Church of England should be regulated by such Rules of Order and Discipline as are establissh-ed by Parliament*; and that it was Malignancy to *infuse into the people* that they had any other meaning: We are loth, by consenting to the second Article, to become guilty of such *Infusion*, as may bring us within the compass and danger of the fourth Article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by sundry † Acts of Parliament, That the *holy Church of Eng-land*

land was founded in the state of Prelacy within the Realm of England; we dare not, by endeavouring the extirpation of Prelacy, strike at the very foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) co-operate towards the ruine of this famous Church, which in all conscience and duty we are bound with our utmost lawful power to uphold.

Lastly, *In respect of our Obligations to his Majesty* by our Duty and Oaths; we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the Church Government by Law established, without forfeiture of those Obligations.

5.

1. Having in the Oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be *the only Supreme Governour in all Ecclesiastical Causes, and over all Ecclesiastical Persons*; & having bound our selves both in that Oath, and by our Protestation, *To maintain the King's Honour, Estate, Juris-*  
O 3 *dictions,*

*dictions*, and all manner of Rights: it is clear to our Understandings, that we cannot without disloyalty and injury to him, and double Perjury to our selves, take upon us, without his consent, to make any alteration in the Ecclesiastical Laws or Government, much less to endeavour the extirpation thereof; unless the imposers of this Covenant had a power and meaning (which they have openly † disclaimed) to absolve us of that Obedience, which under God we owe unto his Majesty, whom they know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law.

† They infuse into the people, that we mean — to leave every man to his own fancy —

absolving him of that Obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law, as well as with the Temporal. *Exact. Collect. ubi supra, pag. 19.*

2. We cannot sincerely and really endeavour the extirpation of this Government, without a sincere

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Bij  
pag

sincere desire and real endeavour, that his Majesty would grant his Royal Assent to such extirpation. Which we are so far from desiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden duty by our daily prayers to beg at the hands of Almighty God, that he would not for our sins suffer the King to do an act so prejudicial to his Honour and Conscience, as to consent to the rooting out of that estate, which by so many branches of his \* *Coronation* \* That he will grant, keep, and confirm the Laws, Customs, and Franchises, granted to

*Oath* he hath in such a solemn manner sworn by the assistance of God to his power to maintain and preserve.

the Clergy by the glorious King S. Edward. And that he will grant and preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all Canonical Priviledges and due Law and Justice; and that he will protect and defend them, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops and the Churches under their Government. Vide Exact. Col. pag. 290, 291.

3. By the Laws of this Land,

O 4

† the

† See Stat.  
25 H.8.20.  
& 1 E.6.2.  
|| See Stat.  
39 Eliz.8.  
\* Stat. 14  
E.3.4. & 5.  
& 17 E.3.  
14.  
† Stat. 26  
H.8.3. &  
1 Eliz.4.

— † the *Collation* of *Bishopricks* and || *Deanaries*; the \* *fruits* and *profits* of their *Lands* and *Revenues* during their *vacancies*; the † *first fruits* and *yearly tenths* out of all *Ecclesiastical Promotions*; and sundry other *Priviledges*, *Profits*, and *Emoluments*, arising out of the *State Ecclesiastical*, are established in the *Crown*, and are a considerable part of the *Revenues* thereof; which, by the *extirpation* of *Prelacy*, as it is in the *Article* expounded, or by subsequent practice evidenced, will be severed and cut off from the *Crown*, to the great prejudice and damage thereof. Whereunto as we ought not in common reason, and in order to our *Allegiance* as *Subjects*, yield our consent; so having sworn expressly to *maintain the King's Honour and Estate*, and to our power to assist and defend all *Jurisdictions*, &c. belonging

longing to his Highness, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm, we cannot without manifest Perjury (as we conceive) consent thereunto.

4. The Government of this Realm being confessedly an *Empire* or

\* *Monarchy*, and that of a most excellent temper and constitution; we understand not how it can become us to desire or endeavour the extirpation of that Government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the most agreeable, and no way prejudicial to the state of so well a constituted Monarchy: Infomuch as King *James* would often say, what his long Experience had taught him, *No Bi-*

\* —*Supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habet Rex, Cambrden. whereas by sundry divers old authentick Histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of England*

is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one Supreme Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same. Stat. 24 H. 8. 12. See also 1 Eliz. 3.

*shop,*

*shop, no King.* Which Aphorism, though we find in sundry Pamphlets of late years to have been exploded with much confidence and scorn; yet we must profess to have met with very little in the proceedings of the late times, to weaken our belief of it. And we hope we shall be the less blamed for our unwillingness to have any actual concurrence in the extirpating of Episcopal Government; seeing of such extirpation there is no other use imaginable, but either the alienation of their Revenues and Inheritances (which how it can be severed from *Sacrilege* and *Injustice*, we leave others to find out) or to make way for the introducing of some other form of Church Government: which whatsoever it shall be, will (as we think) prove either destructive of, and inconsistent with Monarchical Government, or at leastwise  
more

more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual exercise thereof, than a well-regulated Episcopacy can possibly be.

§. V.

*Of the other parts of the Covenant.*

HAVING insisted the more upon the two first Articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein our selves have a more proper concernment; we shall need to insist the less upon those that follow, contenting our selves with a few (the most obvious) of those many great, and (as we conceive) just exceptions that lie there against.

In the third Article, we are not satisfied that our endeavour to preserve and defend the Kings Majestie's Person and Authority is so limited, as there it is, by that addition, *In the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* Forasmuch as

I.

I. No

1. No such limitation of our duty in that behalf is to be found, either in the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance ( which no Papist would refuse to take with such a limitation) nor in the Protestation, nor in the Word of God.
2. Our endeavour to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, is required to be sworn of us in the same Article without the like or any other limitation added thereunto.
3. Such limitation leaveth the duty of the Subject at so much loosness, and the safety of the King at so great uncertainty ; that whensoever the people shall have a mind to withdraw their obedience, they cannot want a pretence from the same for so doing.
4. After we should, by the very last thing we did ( *viz.* swearing with such a limitation) have made

made our selves guilty of an actual and real diminution (as we conceive) of his Majesties just power and greatness: the obtestation would seem very unseasonable (at the least) with the same breath to call the world to bear witness with our Consciences, that we had no thoughts or intentions to diminish the same.

5. The swearing with such a limitation is a Testimony of the Subjects Loyalty (to our seeming) of a very strange nature; which, the Principles of their several Religions salved, the Conscience of a most resolute Papist or Sectary may securely swallow, and the Conscience of a good Protestant cannot but strain at.

In the fourth Article,

1. We desire it may be considered, whether the imposing of the Covenant in this Article do not lay a necessity upon the  
Son
- 2.

Son, of accusing his own Father, and pursuing him to destruction, in case he should be an Incendiary, Malignant, or other evil Instrument, such as in the Article is described. A course which we conceive to be contrary to Religion, Nature, and Humanity.

2. Whether the swearing according to this Article, doth not rather open a ready way to Children that are sick of the Father, Husbands that are weary of their Wives, &c. by appealing such as stand between them and their desires, of Malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful intentions and designs.
3. Our selves having solemnly protested to maintain the Liberty of the Subject, and the House of Commons having publicly declared against the exercise of an Arbitrary Power, with Order that their said Declaration should

should be printed and published in all the Parish Churches and Chappels of the Kingdom, there to stand and remain as a testimony of the clearness of their intentions; whether the subjecting of our selves and brethren by Oath unto such punishments, as shall be inflicted upon us (without Law or Merit) at the sole pleasure of such uncertain Judges as shall be upon any particular occasion *deputed for that effect*, of what mean quality or abilities soever they be, even to the taking away of our lives, *if they shall think it convenient so to do*, though the degree of our offences shall not require or deserve the same; be not the betraying of our Liberty in the lowest, and the setting up of an Arbitrary Power in the highest degree that can be imagined.

The

3.

The substance of the fifth Article, being the settling and continuance of a firm peace and union between the three Kingdoms, since it is our bounden duty to desire, and according to our several places and interests by all lawful means to endeavour the same: we should make no scruple at all to enter into a Covenant to that purpose, were it not

1. That we do not see, nor therefore can acknowledge *the happiness of such a blessed Peace between the three Kingdoms* (for we hope *Ireland* is not forgotten) as in the Article is mentioned; so long as *Ireland* is at War within it self, and both the other Kingdoms engaged in that War.

2. That since no peace can be firm and well-grounded that is not bottom'd upon Justice, the most proper and adequate act whereof is, *Just sum cuique*, to let every one have that which of right belongeth unto him; we can-

cannot conceive how a firm and lasting Peace can be established in these Kingdoms, unless the respective Authority, Power, and Liberty of *King, Parliament, and Subject*, as well every one as other, be preserved full and entire, according to the known Laws and continued unquestioned customes of the several Kingdoms in former times, and before the beginning of these sad distractions.

In the sixth Article we are altogether unsatisfied. 4.

1. The whole Article being grounded upon a supposition, which hath not yet been evidenced to us, *viz.* that *this Cause*, meaning thereby (or else we understand it not) the joyning in this Covenant of mutual defence for the prosecution of the late War, was *the Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms*; and that it so much concerned *the glory of God,*  
P and

*and the good of the Kingdoms,  
and the honour of the King.*

2. If all the Premises were so clear, that we durst yield our free assent thereunto, yet were they not sufficient to warrant to our Consciences what in this Article is required to be sworn of us; unless we were as clearly satisfied concerning the lawfulness of the means to be used for the supporting of such a Cause. For since evil may not be done, that good may come thereof; we cannot yet be perswaded, That *the Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace*, may be supported; or *the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King* sought to be advanced, by such means, as (to our best understandings) are both improper for those Ends, and destitute of all warrant from the Laws, either of God, or of this Realm.

Last-

Lastly, in the Conclusion, our hearts tremble to think that we should be required to pray, that *other Christian Churches might be encouraged by our example to joyn in the like Association and Covenant, to free themselves from the Antichristian yoke, &c.* Wherein

5.

1. To omit that we do not know any *Antichristian yoke* under which we were held in these Kingdoms, and from which we owe to this either War or Covenant our freedom; unless by the Antichristian yoke be meant Episcopal Government, which we hope no man that pretendeth to Truth and Charity will affirm.
2. We do not yet see in the fruits of this Association or Covenant among our selves any thing so lovely, as to invite us to desire (much less to pray) that other Christian Churches should follow our example herein.

3. To pray to the purpose in the conclusion of the Covenant expressed, seemeth to us all one in effect as to beseech Almighty God, the God of Love and Peace,
  1. To take all love and peace out of the hearts of Christians, and to set the whole Christian world in a combustion.
  2. To render the Reformed Religion, and all Protestants odious to all the world.
  3. To provoke the Princes of *Europe* to use more severity towards those of the Reformed Religion; if not (for their own security) to root them quite out of their several Dominions.
  4. The tyranny and yoke of Antichrist, if laid upon the necks of Subjects by their lawful Sovereigns, is to be thrown off by *Christian boldness* in confessing the Truth,

Truth, and *patient suffering* for it; not by taking up Arms, or violent resisting of the Higher Powers.

§. VI.

*Some considerations concerning the meaning of the Covenant.*

OUR aforesaid Scruples are much strengthened by these ensuing Considerations.

First, That whereas no Oath, which is contradictory to it self, can be taken without Perjury; because the one part of every contradiction must needs be false: this Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leastwise (which to the point of Conscience is not much less effectual) seemeth to us to contain sundry Contradictions; as namely, amongst others, these.

1. To preserve as it is, without change, and yet to reform and alter, and not to preserve, *one and the same Reformed Religion.*

2. Absolutely and without exception *to preserve*; and yet upon supposition *to extirpate* the ielfsame thing, *viz* the present Religion of the Church of *Scotland*.
3. To reform Church Government established in *England* and *Ireland*, according to the Word of God; and yet to extirpate that Government which we are perswaded to be according thereunto, for the introducing of another whereof we are not so perswaded.
4. To endeavour *really* the *extirpation* of *Heresies*, *Schisms*, and *Prophaneness*; and yet withal to extirpate that Government in the Church, the want of the due exercise whereof we conceive to have been one chief cause of the growth of the said evils; and do believe the restoring and continuance thereof would be the most proper and effectual remedy.
5. To

5. To preserve with our estates and lives the liberties of the Kingdom; that is (as in the Protestation is explained) of the Subject; and yet contrary to these liberties, to submit to the imposition of this Covenant, and of the *Negative Oath*, not yet established by Law; and to put our lives and estates under the arbitrary power of such as may take away both from us when they please, not only without, but even against Law, if they shall judge it convenient so to do.

Secondly, We find in the Covenant sundry expressions of dark or doubtful construction, whereunto we cannot swear in judgment till their sense be cleared and agreed upon. As, Who are the *Common Enemies*? and which be the *best Reformed Churches*? mentioned in the first Article. Who (in the fourth Article) are to be accounted *Malignants*? How far that phrase of *bin-*

2.

*dring Reformation* may be extended? What is meant by *the supreme Judicatory of both the Kingdoms?* and sundry other.

Thirdly, By the use that hath been made of this Covenant (sometimes to purposes of dangerous consequence) we are brought into some fears and jealousies, lest by taking the same we should cast our selves into more snares than we are yet aware of. For in the first Article,

1. Whereas we are to *endeavour the Reformation of Religion in this Kingdom in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God; and the example of the best Reformed Churches:*

1. The Reformation in Worship (whereby we could not suppose any more was intended (according to their former † Declaration) than

† The Lords  
and Com-  
mons do  
declare,  
That they  
intend a  
due and

necessary Reformation of the Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing therein but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary & burthensom. Dec. 9 Apr. 1642. Exact. Col. p. 133.

a review of the Service-book, that the translations might be in some places amended, some alterations made in the Offices and Rubrics; or at most some of the Ceremonies laid aside for the reasons of expediency and condescension) hath produced an utter abolition of the whole form established; without substituting any other certain form in the room thereof.

2. The Reformation in point of Discipline and Government intended (so far as by the overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is such, as we conceive not to be *according to the Word of God*, nor (for any thing we know) according to the example of any Church that ever was in the World (best or worst) since the Creation.

2. In

2. In the second Article, our grief and fears had been less, if we could have observed *the extirpation of Popery, Heresie, Schism. and Prophaneness*, to have been as really intended, and set on with as much speed and animosity, as the extirpation of *Prelacy*, and that which some call *Superstition*. But when we see, under the notions of rooting out Prelacy and Superstition, so much quickness used to fetch in the Revenues of the Church, and the sacred Utenils (no otherwise guilty of Superstition, for ought we know, than that they are worth something;) and on the other side, so little yet done toward the extirpation of Heresie, Schism, and Profaneness (as things of less temporal advantage;) We cannot dissemble our suspicion, that the Designers of this Covenant might have something else before their eyes

eyes, besides what in the beginning of the Introduction is expressed; and that there is something meant in this Article that looketh so like Sacrilege, that we are afraid to venture thereon

3. In the third Article,

1. Although we should not otherwise have apprehended any matter of danger or moment in the ordering of the particulars in the Article mentioned; yet since M.Challoner in his Speech, and others have made advantage thereof to infer from that very order, that the defence of the King's Person and Authority ought to be with subordination to the preservation of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, which are *\* in the first place*, and before it to be

*\* From whence it is most evident, That*

*the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments and Liberties of the Kingdom are in the first place to be preserved. Answer to Scottish Papers, 18 Nov. 1646. pag. 21.*

endeavoured; We hope we shall be excused, if we dare not take the Covenant in this sense; especially, considering that if the Argument be of any force, it will bind us at least as strongly to endeavour the maintenance of *the King's Person, Honour, and Estate* in the first place, and the rest but subordinately thereunto; because they are so ordered in the Protestation: And then, that Protestation having the advantage of preceding, it will bind us more strongly, as being the first Obligation.

2. Whereas some have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this particular by being told, That that limitation, *in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms*, was not to be understood exclusively: yet when we find that the House of Commons

mons in their Answer to the Scottish Papers, do † often press that limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preserve the King's Majestie's Person and Authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deterr us from taking the Covenant in this particular so understood.

† we observe you mention the defence of the King twice from the Covenant, yet in both places leave out In the preservation and, &c. p. 39. & 45. a main clause, without which the other part ought never to be mentioned. p. 56.

3. Especially being told in a late Pamphlet, That the King not having preserved the Liberties of the Kingdom, &c. as of duty he ought, is thereby become a *Tyrant*, and so ceaseth to be a King, and consequently that his Subjects cease to be Subjects, and owe him no longer subjection. Which assertion, since we heartily detest as false and scandalous in the supposition, and in the inference seditious and divellish; we dare not by subscribing this Article, seem to give the least countenance thereunto.

4. But

4. But it striketh us with hor-  
 rour to think what use hath  
 been made of this fourth Arti-  
 cle, concerning the punish-  
 ment of Malignants, &c. as by  
 others otherways, so especial-  
 ly by the *Corrector of a Speech*  
*without doors*, written in the  
 defence of M. Challoner's  
 Speech; who is so bold as to  
 tell the Parliament, *That they*  
*are bound by their Covenant (for*  
*the bringing of evil Instru-*  
*ments to condign punishment)*  
*to destroy the King and his Po-*  
*sterity; and that they cannot ju-*  
*stifie the taking away of Straf-*  
*ford's and Canterbury's lives*  
*for Delinquency, whilst they*  
*suffer the chief Delinquent to*  
*go unpunished.*

§. VII.  
Of the *Salvo's*.

**T**HE *Salvo's* that we have usually met withal, for the avoiding of the aforesaid Scruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or some particulars therein of special importance; we find upon examination to be no way satisfactory to our Consciences.

The first is, that we may take the the Covenant *in our own sense*: but this (in a matter of this nature, *viz.* an imposed promissory Oath, in the performance whereof others also are presumed to be concerned) seemeth to be.

1. Contrary to the nature and end of an Oath, which unless it be full of simplicity, cannot be sworn in Truth and Righteousness, nor serve to the ending of Controversies and Contradictions, which was the use for which it was instituted, *Heb. 6.*

1.

2. Con-

2. *Contrary to the end of Speech*; God having given us the use of Speech for this end, that it might be the Interpreter of the mind; it behoveth us as in all other our dealings and contracts, so especially where there is the intervention of an Oath, so to speak, as that they whom it concerneth, may clearly understand our meaning by our words.
3. *Contrary to the end of the Covenant* it self: which being the confirmation of a firm union among the Covenanters, that by taking thereof they might have mutual assurance of mutual assistance and defence: If one may be allowed to take it in one sense, and another in a contrary, the Covenanters shall have no more assurance of mutual assistance each from other after the taking of the Covenant, than they had before.

4. Con-

4. Contrary to the *Solemn profession* made by each Covenanter (in expresse tearms in the conclusion thereof) *in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts,* that he taketh it *with a true intention to perform the same, as he shall answer it at the great day.*

2. This will bring a scandal upon our Religion,

1. That we practice that our selves, which we condemn in the Papist, *viz.* Swearing with Jesuitical equivocations and mental reservations.

2. That we take the glorious and dreadful Name of God in vain; and play fast and loose with Oaths: inasmuch as what we swear to day in one sense, we may swear the direct contrary to morrow in another. And

3. It will give strength to that charge which is laid to the Presbyterian party in special,

Q

both

\* *Heretici  
nec Deo, nec  
hominibus  
servant fi-  
dem*——  
*Speciatim  
hoc addo,  
Calvinistas  
in hac re  
deteriores  
esse quam*

*Lutheranos. Nam Calvinistæ nullam servant fidem: Jura, perju-  
ra.——Lutherani moderatiore sunt. Becan. 5. Manual. Controv.  
14. n. 4. & 6.*

† *Invent Oaths and Covenants for the Kingdom, dispense with  
them when he pleaseth, swear and forswear as the wind turneth,  
like a godly Presbyter. Arraign. of Persec. in Epist. Ded.*

both \* by *Jesuites* and † *Secta-  
ries*; that there is no faith to  
be given to Protestants, what-  
ever they swear; because they  
may swear one thing in their  
words, and in their own sense  
mean another.

2.

2. The second way is, to take  
the Covenant with these or the like  
general *Salvo's* expressed, *viz.* So  
far as lawfully I may; So far as it is  
agreeable to the Word of God, and  
the Laws of the Land; Saving all  
Oaths by me formerly taken, &c.  
But

1. We believe this mocking of  
God would be so far from free-  
ing us from the guilt of Perjury,  
that thereby we should rather  
contract a new guilt of most vile  
and abominable Hypocrisie.

2. It

2. It seemeth all one unto us (the thing being otherwise supposed unlawful) as if we should swear to kill, steal, commit adultery, or forswear our selves, so far as lawfully we may.
3. If this would satisfie the Conscience, we might with a good Conscience not only take the present Covenant, but even subscribe to the *Council of Trent* also; yea, and to the *Turkish Alcoran*; and swear to maintain and defend either of them, viz. so far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, For the *second Article* 3.  
in particular, in the branch concerning the extirpation of Church Government, we are told that it is to be understood of the whole Government, taken collectively, and in *sensu composito*, so as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferiour Officers belonging

Q 2. to

to the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, we shall have sufficiently discharged our whole promise in that particular, without any prejudice done to Episcopacy. But

1. Neither the Composers of the Covenant by their words, nor the Imposers of it by their actions, have given us the least signification that they meant no more.

2. Yea rather, if we may judge either by the cause or the effects, we may well think there was a meaning to extirpate the whole Government, and every part thereof, in the Article expressed. For

1. The Covenant being (as we have no cause to doubt) framed at the instance of the Scots, and for the easier procuring of their assistance in the late War, was therefore in all reason so to be framed and understood as to give them satisfaction, and (considering

considering what themselves have \* declared against Episcopacy ) we have little reason to believe the taking away Apparitors, or any thing less than the rooting out of Episcopacy it self, would have satisfied them.

\* By the Covenant both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands of other his Majesties Subjects of England

and Ireland, stand bound as well as we to hinder the setting up of the Church Government by Bishops in the Kingdom of Scotland : And that we as well as they stand bound to endeavour the extirpation thereof in England and Ireland. Scots Declaration to the States of the United Provinces, 5 Aug. 1645. recited in Answer to the Scots Papers, pag. 23.

2. The proceedings also since the entring of this Covenant in endeavouring by Ordinance of Parliament to take away the Name, Power, and Revenues of Bishops do sadly give us to understand what was their meaning therein.

Fourthly, As to the Scruples that arise from the Sovereignty of the King, and the Duty of Allegiance as Subjects, we find two several ways

Q 3

of

of answering, but little satisfaction in either.

1. The former, by saying (which seemeth to us a piece of unreasonable and strange Divinity) that *Protection* and *Subjection* standing in relation either to other, the King being now disabled to give us protection, we are thereby freed from our bond of Subjection. Where-  
as

1. The Subjects Obligation (*Jus subjectionis*) doth not spring from, nor relate unto the actual exercise of Kingly protection; but from and unto the Prince's obligation to protect (*Jus protectionis*.) Which obligation lying upon him as a duty which he is bound in Conscience to perform, when it is in his power so to do; the relative Obligation thereunto lieth upon us as a duty which we are bound in Conscience to perform,

form, when it is in our power so to do. His inability therefore to perform his duty doth not discharge us from the necessity of performing ours, so long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King should not protect us, but neglect his part, though having power and ability to perform it; his voluntary neglect ought not to free us from the faithful performance of what is to be done on our part. How much less then ought we to think our selves disobliged from our subjection, when the *Non-protection* on his part is not from the want of will, but of power?

2. The later (wherein yet some have triumphed) by saying that the Parliament being the Supreme Judicatory of the Kingdom, the King, *wheresoever in person*, is ever present *there*

*in his power*, as in all other Courts of Justice: and that therefore whatsoever is done by them, is not done without the King, but by him. But craving pardon first, if in things without our proper sphere we hap to speak improperly or amiss; We must next crave leave to be still of the same mind we were, till it shall be made evident to our understandings, that the King is there *in his power*, as it is evident to our senses, that he is not there *in his Person*: Which so far as our natural reason and small experience will serve us to judge, all that hath been said to that purpose can never do.

For, first, to the point of presence:

1. We have been brought up in a belief that for the making of Laws the actual  
† Royal

† *Royal assent* was simply necessary, and not only a virtual assent supposed to be included in the Votes of the two Houses: otherwise, what use can be made of his Negative voice? or what need to \* *desire his Royal assent* to that which may be done as well without it?

† The old forms of Acts of Parliament were *The King willeth, provideth, ordaineth, establisheth, granteth, &c. by the assent of Parliament, &c.*

See Statutes till 1 H. 4. After that, *The King, of the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the special instance and request of the Commons of this Realm, hath ordained, &c.* See Statutes 1 H. 4. till 1 H. 7. A form of such Petition of the Commons, see 1 R. 3. 6. *Prayen the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that where, &c. Please it therefore your Highness, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this your present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, to ordain, &c.*

No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict of Law, although both the Houses agree unanimously in it, till it hath the Royal Assent. Ancient Customes, pag. 54.

*Assemblée de ceux troys Estats est appellee un Act de Parliament: car sans tous troys n'est aucun Act de Parl.* Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

We admit that no Acts of Parliament are compleat, or formally binding, without the King's assent. H. P. Answer to David Jenkins, pag. 6.

\* ——— which if your Majesty shall be pleased to adorn with your Majesties Royal assent (without which it can neither be compleat and perfect, nor —) Stat. 1 Jac. 1.

## 2. The

† Stat. 33  
El. 3. 21.

2. The † Statute providing that *the King's assent to any Bill signified under his Great Seal* shall be to all intents of Law as valid and effectual; as if he were personally present, doth clearly import that as to the effect of making a Law, the Kings Power is not otherwise really present with the two Houses, than it appeareth either in his Person or under his Seal: Any other *real presence* is to us a riddle, not much unlike to that of *Transubstantion*: an imaginary thing, rather devised to serve turns, than believed by those that are content to make use of it.
3. Such presence of the King there, when it shall be made appear to us either from the Writs, whereby the Members of both Houses are called together, or by the standing Laws of the Land, or by the acknowledged judgment and continued practice

practice of former and later Ages, or by any express from the King himself, clearly declaring his mind to that purpose, we shall then as becometh us, acknowledge the same, and willingly submit thereunto.

And as for the Argument drawn from the *Analogy* of other Courts, wherein the King's Power is always supposed to be virtually present, under submission we conceive it is of no consequence.

1. The Arguments *a minore* and *a majore* are subject to many fallacies; and, unless there be a parity of reason in every requisite respect between the things compared, will not hold good: A petty Constable (they say) may do something which a Justice of Peace cannot do: And the Steward of a petty Mannor hath power to administer an Oath, which (as we are told) the House of Commons it self hath no power to do.

2. That

2. That the High Court of Parliament is the Supream Judicatory, we have been told it is by virtue of the King's right of presiding there, he being \* the *Supream Judge*, and the Members of both Houses his Council: which being so, the reason of difference is plain between that and other Judicatories in sundry respects.

\* Dominus  
Rex habet  
ordinariam  
jurisdictionem,  
dignitatem &  
potestatem  
super omnes  
qui in regno  
suo sunt.

— Ea que  
jurisdictionis sunt & pæis — ad nullum pertinent nisi ad  
coronam & dignitatem Regiam, nec à coronâ separari possunt.  
Bracton cited by Stamford, lib. 2. cap. 2.

1. The Judges in other Courts are deputed by him, and do all in his Name, and by his Authority; and therefore the presence of his power in those Courts of Ministerial Jurisdiction is sufficient, his Personal presence not necessary, neither hath he any Personal vote therein at all. But in the high Court of Parliament, where the King himself is the Supream

pream Judge, judging in his own Name and by his own Authority, his Power cannot be presumed to be really present without either the actual presence of his person, or some virtual representation thereof signified under his Great Seal.

2. The Judges in Inferiour Courts, because they are to act all in his Name, and by his Authority, do therefore take Oaths of fidelity for the right exercising of Judicature in their several places; sitting there, not by any proper interest of their own, but only in right of the King, whose Judges they are, and therefore they are called the King's Judges and his Ministers. But in the high Court of Parliament, the Lords and Commons sit there in Council with the King as Supream Judge for the good of the whole Realm; and therefore they are not called the King's Judges, but the  
King's

King's Council : and they have their several proper rights and interests peculiar and distinct both between themselves, and from that of the Kings ; by reason whereof they become *distinct* \* *Orders*, or , as of late times they have been styled (in this sense we conceive) † *three distinct Estates*. Each of which being supposed to be the best Conservators of their own proper interest ; if the power of any one Estate should be presumed to be virtually present in the other two , that Estate must needs be inevitably liable to suffer in the proper interests thereof : which might quickly prove destructive to the whole Kingdom ; the safety and prosperity of the whole consisting in the conservation

\* For in our Laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty are the three Estates.

— *we your said most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects (viz. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons) representing your three*

*Estates of your Realm of England, 1 Eliz. 3. — the State of the Clergy being one of the greatest States of this Realm. 8 Eliz. 1.*

† See Finch *supra* ad lit. [d].

of

of the just rights and proper interests of the main parts, *viz.* The King, Lords, and Commons inviolate and entire.

3. The Judges of other Courts, forasmuch as their power is but Ministerial and meerly Judicial, are bounded by the present Laws, and limited also by their own Acts; so as they may neither swerve from the Laws in giving Judgment, nor reverse their own Judgments after they are given. But the high Court of Parliament, having (by reason of the King's Supream Power presiding therein) a Power Legislative as well as Judicial, are not so limited by any earthly Power, but that they may change and over-rule the Laws and their own Acts at their pleasure. The King's Personal assent therefore is not needful in those other Courts, which are bounded by those Laws whereunto the King hath already gi-

ven

†The Crown  
of England  
hath been  
so free at  
all times,  
that it  
hath been  
in no earth-  
ly subjection,  
but immediately  
to God in  
all things  
touching  
the Regali-  
ty of the  
said  
Crown.—  
16 R. 2. 5.

*Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Payem autem non habet Rex in Regno suo, quia — Item nec multo fortius superiorem aut potentiozem habere debet, quia sic esset inferior suis subiectis. Bracton. contin. 1. Rubr. 35. — Cui αὐτοκρατορικὴν legibus ipsis legum vim imponendi potestatem Deus dedit. Finch Nomotech. in Epist. Dedic. to King James.*

ven his personal assent ; but unto any Act of Power beside, beyond, above, or against the Laws already established, we have been informed, & it seems to us very agreeable to reason, that the King's Personal Assent should be absolutely necessary : Forasmuch as every such Act is the exercise of a Legislative, rather than of a Judicial power ; and no Act of Legislative power in any Community (by consent of all Nations) can be valid, unless it be confirmed by such person or persons as the Sovereignty of that Community resideth in. Which Sovereignty, with us, so undoubtedly resideth in the person of the King, that his ordinary style runneth, ——— *Our† Sovereign*

*Lord*

*Lord the King*: And he is in the Oath of Supremacy expressly acknowledged to be *the only Supream Governour within his Realms*. And we leave it to the wisdom of others to consider what misery and mischief might come to the Kingdom, if the power of any of these *three Estates* should be swallowed up by any one, or both the other, and if then under the name of a Judicial, there should be yet really exercised a Legislative power.

4. Since all Judicial Power is radically and originally in the King (who is for that cause styled by the Laws *\* The Fountain of Justice*) and not in any other Person or Persons, but by derivation from him: it seem-

*\* Fons Ju-  
stitiæ.  
Brafton.  
By War to  
intend the  
alteration*

of the Laws in any part of them, is to levy War against the King, and consequently Treason by the Statute of 25 E. 3. — because they are the King's Laws. He is the Fountain from whence in their several Channels they are derived to the Subject. Master Saint John's Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford, pag. 12.

eth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferiour Courts of Minifteriall Juſtice, nor the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, may of right exerciſe any other Power over the Subjects of this Realm, than ſuch as by their reſpective Patents and Writs iſſued from the King, or by the known eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land formerly aſſented unto by the Kings of this Realm, doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which Laws, Patents, and Writs being the exact boundary of their ſeveral Powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our underſtandings, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from the tenour of thoſe Writs by which the Parliament is called, that the two Houſes of Parliament have any power without the King to *order, command, or tranſact*; but

but with him \* to treat, con-  
 sult, and advise concerning  
 the great affairs of the King-  
 dom. In which respect they  
 have sundry times in their  
 Declarations to his Majesty cal-  
 led themselves by the Name  
 of his *Great Council*. And  
 those Laws and Writs are  
 (as we conceive) the proper  
 Topick, from which the just  
 power of the Honourable  
 Houses can be convincingly  
 deduced; and not such frail  
 Collections, as the wits of men  
 may raise from seeming Analo-  
 gies and Proportions.

\* — Et  
 ibidem vo-  
 bis cum col-  
 loquium  
 habere,  
 tractare  
 super dictis  
 negotiis  
 tract. ve-  
 strumque  
 consilium  
 impensur.  
 Writ to  
 the Lords.

## p. VIII.

*Of the Negative Oath.*

WE are not satisfied how we can submit to the taking of the *Negative Oath*,

1. Without forfeiture of that *liberty* which we have sworn, and are bound to preserve. With which liberty we conceive it to be inconsistent, that any Obligation should be laid upon the Subject by an Oath not established by Act of Parliament.

† Every Subject by the duty of his Allegiance is bounden to

2. Without abjuring our † *natural Allegiance*, and violating the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us former-

serve and assist his Prince and Sovereign Lord at all seasons when need shall require. 11 H. 7. 12.

ly

ly taken. By all which being bound to our power to *assist the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to swear, from our heart, *not to assist him*.

3. Without *diminution of his Majesties just Power and Greatness*, contrary to the third Article of the Covenant; by acknowledging a Power in the two Houses of Parliament, in opposition to the King's Power. Whereas we profess our selves unable to understand, how there can be any lawful power exercised within this Realm, which is not subordinate to the power of the King.

## p. IX.

*Of the Ordinances concerning the  
Discipline and Directory.*

1. **F**irst, Concerning them altogether; we are not satisfied how we can submit to such Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament not having the *Royal Assent*,

1. As are contrary to the established Laws of this Realm, contained in such Acts of Parliament as were made by the joint consent of King, Lords, and Commons,
2. Nor so only, but also pretend by Repeal to abrogate such Act or Acts. For, since *Ejusdem est potestatis destruere, cujus est constituere*, it will not sink with us, that a lesser power can have a just right to

to cancel and annul the Act of a greater.

3. Especially the whole power of St. 1 El. 1. ordering all matters Ecclesiastical, being by the Laws in express words *for ever annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* And upon what head that Crown ought to stand, none can be ignorant.

As to the particular Ordinances, those that concern *the Discipline* first, 2.

1. If under that Title be comprehended the *Government* also; we cannot submit thereunto, without consenting to the eradication of a Government of reverend Antiquity in the Church. Which (notwithstanding the several changes of Religion within this Realm) hath yet from time to time been continued and confirmed by the publick Laws and great Charters of the Kingdom: than which there cannot

be a more ample testimony that it was ever held agreeable to the Civil Government and the Subjects Liberty: Which also the successive Kings of this Realm at their several Coronations have solemnly sworn to preserve: And the continuance whereof for sundry Reasons before (upon the second Article of the Covenant) specified, we heartily wish and desire.

2. But if the word *Discipline* be taken (as it is in the first Article of the Covenant) as *contradistinguished unto the Government*: there is something even in that also, wherein we are not fully satisfied, *viz.* the leaving of so much power in so many Persons, and those, many of them of mean quality, for the keeping back of thousands of well-meaning Christians from the benefit and comfort of the blessed Sacrament: an Austerity,

ty, for which there appeareth not to us any probable warrant from the Word of God; but which seemeth rather repugnant, as to the general Principles of Christian Prudence and Charity, so to the directions and practice of St. *Paul* in particular; who in a Church abounding with sundry errors and corruptions both in Faith and Manners (having first given order for the Excommunicating of one only person, that by shameless continuance in a notorious sin had brought a foul scandal upon the Gospel) sufficing himself then with a general proposal of the great danger of *unworthy communicating*, remitteth every other particular person to a *Self-examination*; without any order either to Ministers or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the holy Communion upon their Examination.

1 Cor. 5. 1,  
&c.

1 Cor. 11.  
28, &c.

As

3. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular; we cannot without regret of Conscience (during our present Judgment, and the continuance of the present Laws) consent to the taking away of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

1. Which by our Subscriptions most of us have approved; with a solemn promise therewithal, in the Publick Service to use the form prescribed therein, and no other.

2. Which according to our said Subscription and Promise, and our bounden duty according to the Statute in that case provided, we have hitherto used in our Churches, Chappels, and other Oratories, to the great benefit and comfort of our souls.

1 Eliz.

3. Which

3. Which we verily believe not to contain any thing which (with such favourable construction as of right ought to be allowed to all manner of Writings) is not justly defensible; which hath not been by learned and godly men sufficiently maintained against such Exceptions as have been heretofore taken thereat; and which we are confident (by the Assistance of Almighty God) we shall be able to justifie (as occasion shall be offered) against all Papists, and other Oppugners or depravers thereof whatsoever.

4. Which is established by an *Act of Parliament* made (in peaceable times) by as good and full authority as any under Heaven can have over us, which doth so weigh with us,

us, that as it freeth us from the necessity of giving in any particular Exceptions against the Directory, or any thing therein contained: so it layeth an inevitable necessity upon us of continuing the form of Prayer therein enjoyned, and of not admitting any Directory or other Form to the prejudice thereof, till the said Act shall by the like good and full Authority be repealed.

In which Statute there is not only an *express Command* given to all Ministers for the using of the same; but there are also *sanctions of severe punishments* to be inflicted upon such of them as shall refuse so to do; or shall preach, declare or speak any thing to the derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing therein contained, or of

of any part thereof; with punishments also to be inflicted upon every other person whatsoever (*the Lords of the Parliament* not excepted) that shall in like manner declare or speak against the said Book; or shall by deed or threatening compel, or otherwise procure or maintain any Minister to say open Prayer, or to minister any Sacrament in any other manner or form than is mentioned in the said Book; or shall interrupt or hinder any Minister in the use of the said forms, as by the words of the said Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute also hath had such universal powerful influence into the succeeding times, that in all such \* Statutes as have been since made against Popish Recusants, the refusing to be present at Common Prayer, or to receive the Sacrament according to the

\* Stat. 23.  
Elix. 1. &  
29 Elix. 6.  
& 35 El.  
1. & 2. &  
3 Jac. 4. &  
5.

*forms and rites* mentioned in that Book, is expressed as the most proper legal character, whereby to distinguish a *Popish Recusant* from a true Protestant. Inſomuch that uſe hath been made of that very Character in ſundry Acts, ſince the beginning of this preſent Parliament, for the taxing of double payments upon Recuſants.

**T**HUS have we clearly and freely represented our preſent Judgment concerning the ſaid Covenant, Negative Oath, and Ordinances, which upon better information in any particular, we ſhall be ready to rectifie. Only we deſire it may be conſidered, That if any one ſingle ſcruple or reaſon in any the Premiſſes remain unſatisfied (though we ſhould receive full ſatisfaction in all the reſt) the Conſcience would alſo remain ſtill unſatisfied. And in that caſe, it can neither be reaſonable

ble for them that cannot satisfie us  
to press us, nor lawful for us that  
cannot be satisfied to submit to the  
said Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances.

QUINTIL.

*Quis damnaverit eum, qui duabus  
potentissimis rebus defenditur,  
jure & mente?*

ROM. XIV. 22.

*Happy is he that condemneth not  
himself in that which he allow-  
eth.*

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A  
SERMON  
OF

RICHARD HOOKER

Author of those

LEARNED BOOKS

OF

*Ecclesiastical Politie,*

Found in the Study of the late  
Learned Bishop *Andrews.*

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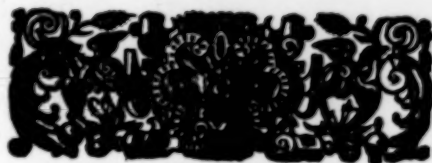
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1 6 7 8.

1878

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A  
 SERMON  
 OF  
*Richard Hooker, &c.*

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MATTH. VII. 7.

*Ask, and it shall be given you; seek,  
 and you shall find; knock, and it  
 shall be opened unto you. For who-  
 soever asketh, &c.*

AS all the Creatures of God,  
 which attain their highest per-  
 fection by process of time, are in  
 S 2                      their

their first beginning raw ; so man in the end of his race the perfectest , is at his entrance thereunto the weakest, and thereby longer enforced to continue a subject for other mens compassions to work upon voluntarily , without any other perswader, besides their own secret Inclination, moving them to repay to the common Stock of Humanity such help, as they know that themselves before must needs have borrowed ; the state and condition of all flesh being herein alike. It cometh hereby to pass, that although there be in us, when we enter into this present world, no conceit or apprehension of our own misery , and for a long time after no ability, as much as to crave help or succour at other mens hands ; yet through his most good and gracious Providence, which feedeth the young, even of feathered Fowls and Ravens (whose natural significations of their necessities are therefore termed in Scripture *Prayers and Invocations* which

which God doth hear ) we, amongst them, whom he values at a far higher rate than millions of brute Creatures, do find by perpetual experience, daily occasions given unto every of us, religiously to acknowledge with the Prophet *David*, *Thou, O Lord, from our birth hast been merciful unto us*, we have tasted thy goodness hanging even at our Mothers Breasts. That God, which during Infancy preserveth us without our knowledge, teacheth us at years of discretion how to use our own Abilities for procurement of our own good.

*Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* For whosoever doth ask, shall receive; whosoever doth seek, shall find; the door unto every one which knocks shall be opened.

In which words we are first commanded to *ask*, *seek*, and *knock*: secondly, promised grace answerable unto every of these endeavours;

S 3      *asking,*

*asking, we shall have; seeking, we shall find; knocking, it shall be opened* unto us: thirdly, this grace is particularly warranted, because it is generally here averred, That no man asking, seeking, and knocking shall fail of that whereunto his serious desire tendeth.

I. Of asking or praying I shall not need to tell you, either at whose hands we must seek our aid, or to put you in mind that our hearts are those golden Censers from which the Fume of this Sacred Incense must ascend. For concerning the one, you know who it is which hath said, *Call upon me*; and of the other, we may very well think, that if any where, surely first and most of all in our Prayers, God doth make his continual Claim, *Fili, da mihi cor tuum*, Son, let me never fail in this duty to have thy heart.

Against invocation of any other than God alone, *if all Arguments else should fail, the number whereof is both great and forcible, yet this*

*this very barr and single challenge might suffice; That whereas God hath in Scripture delivered us so many patterns for imitation when we pray, yea, framed ready to our hands in a manner all, for suits and supplications, which our condition of life on earth may at any time need, there is not one, no not one to be found directed unto Angels, Saints, or any, saving God alone. So that, if in such cases as this we hold it safest to be led by the best Examples that have gone before, when we see what Noah, what Abraham, what Moses, what David, what Daniel and the rest did; what form of Prayer Christ himself likewise taught his Church; and what his blessed Apostles did practise, who can doubt but the way for us to pray so as we may undoubtedly be accepted, is by conforming our Prayers to theirs, whose Supplications we know were acceptable?*

Whoso cometh unto God with a gift, must bring with him a chearful heart, because he loveth *hilarem datorem*, a liberal and frank affection in giving. Devotion and fervency addeth unto prayers the same that alacrity doth unto gifts; it putteth vigour and life in them.

Prayer proceedeth from want, which being seriously laid to heart, maketh Suppliants always importunate; which importunity our Saviour Christ did not only tolerate in the woman of *Canaan*, *Matth. 15.* but also invite and exhort thereunto, as the Parable of the wicked Judge sheweth, *Luke 13.* Our fervency sheweth us sincerely affected towards that we crave: but that which must make us capable thereof, is an humble spirit; for God doth load with his grace the lowly, when the proud he sendeth empty away: and therefore to the end that all generations of the world might know how much it standeth them upon to beware of all lofty and vain conceits when we offer up  
our

our Supplications before him, he hath in the Gospel both delivered this Caveat, and left it by a special chosen parable exemplified. The Pharisee and Publican having presented themselves in one and the same place, the Temple of God, for performance of one and the same duty, the duty of Prayer, did notwithstanding in that respect only so far differ the one from the other, that our Lords own verdict of them remaineth as (you know) on record, *They departed home*, the sinful Publican, through humility of prayer, just; the just Pharisee, through pride, sinful. So much better doth he accept of a contrite *peccavi*, than of an arrogant *Deo gratias*.

Asking is very easie, if that were all God did require: but because there were means which his Providence hath appointed for our attainment unto that which we have from him, and those means now and then intricated, such as require deliberation, study, and intention of wit; therefore he which imboldeneth to ask, doth

doth after invocation exact inquisition; a work of difficulty. The baits of sin every where open, ready always to offer themselves; whereas that which is precious, being hid, is not had but by being sought. *Premia non ad magna praevenitur nisi per magnos labores*, Bernard: straitness and roughness are qualities incident unto every good and perfect way. What booteth it to others that we wish them well, and do nothing for them? As little our selves it must needs avail, if we pray and seek not. To trust to labour without prayer, it argueth impiety and prophaneness; it maketh light of the Providence of God: and although it be not the intent of a religious mind; yet it is the fault of those men whose Religion wanteth light of mature Judgment to direct it, when we joyn with our prayer slothfulness & neglect of convenient labour. He which hath said, *If any man lack wisdom, let him ask* ——— hath in like sort commanded also to seek wisdom,

to

to search for understanding as for treasure. To them which did only crave a seat in the Kingdom of Christ, his answer, as you know, in the Gospel was this, To sit at my right hand and left hand in the Seat of Glory is not a matter of common gratuity, but of Divine assignment from God. He liked better of him which enquired, *Lord, what shall I do that I may be saved?* and therefore him he directeth the right and ready way, *Keep the Commandments.*

I noted before unto you certain special qualities belonging unto you that ask: In them that seek there are the like: which we may observe it is with many as with them of whom the Apostle speaketh, *2 Tim. 3. 7. They are alway learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Ex amore non querunt,* saith Bernard; they seek because they are curious to know, and not as men desirous to obey. It was distress and perplexity of mind which made them inquisitive, of whom St. Luke  
in

in the *Acts* reporteth, that sought counsel and advice with urgent solicitation: Men and Brethren, sith God hath blessed you with the spirit of Understanding above others, hide not from miserable persons that which may do them good; give your counsel to them that need and crave it at your hands, unless we be utterly forlorn; shew us, teach us, what we may do and live. That which our Saviour doth say of Prayer in the open streets, of causing Trumpets to be blown before us when we give our Alms, and of making our Service of God a means to purchase the praise of men, must here be applied to you, who never seek what they ought, but only when they may be sure to have store of lookers on. *On my bed*, saith the *Canticles*, *there did I seek whom my soul doth love*. When therefore thou resolvest thy self to seek, go not out of thy chamber into the streets, but shun that frequency which distracteth; single thy self from thy self, if such sequestration may

may be attained. When thou seekest, let the love of obedience, the sense and feeling of thy necessity, the eye of singleness and sincere meaning guide thy footsteps, and thou canst not slide.

You see what it is to ask and seek; the next is Knock. There is always in every good thing which we ask, and which we seek, some main wall, some barr'd gate, some strong impediment or other objecting it self in the way between us and home; for removal whereof, the help of stronger hands than our own is necessary. As therefore asking hath relation to the want of good things desired, and seeking to the natural ordinary means of attainment thereunto; so knocking is required in regard of hindrances, lets, or impediments, which are doors shut up against us, till such time as it please the goodness of Almighty God to set them open: In the mean while our duty here required is to knock. Many are well contented to ask, and not unwilling  
to

to undertake some pains in seeking ; but when once they see impediments which flesh and blood doth judge invincible, their hearts are broken. *Israel* in *Egypt* subject to miseries of intolerable servitude, craved with sighs and tears deliverance from that estate, which then they were fully perswaded they could not possibly change, but it must needs be for the better. Being set at liberty to seek the Land which God hath promised unto their Fathers , did not seem tedious or irksome unto them: This labour and travel they undertook with great alacrity , never troubled with any doubt, nor dismayed with any fear, till at the length they came to knock at those brazen gates, the barrs whereof, as they have no means, so they had no hopes to break asunder. Mountains on this hand, and the roaring Sea before their faces; then all the forces that *Egypt* could make, coming with as much rage and fury as could possess the heart of a proud, potent, and cruel Tyrant :

Tyrant : In these straits, at this instant, Oh that we had been so happy as to die where before we lived a life, though toylsome, yet free from such extremities as now we are fallen into ! Is this the milk and honey that hath been so spoken of ? Is this the Paradise, in description whereof so much glosing and deceiving eloquence hath been spent ? have we after four hundred and thirty years left *Egypt* to come to this ? While they are in the midst of their mutinous cogitations, *Moses* with all instance beateth, and God with the hand of his Omnipotency casteth open the gates before them, maugre even their own both infidelity and despair. It was not strange then, nor that they afterward stood in like repining terms ; for till they came to the very brink of the River *Jordan*, the least cross accident, which lay at any time in their way, was evermore unto them a cause of present recidivation and relapse. They having the Land in their possession, being seated

seated in the heart thereof; and all their hardest encounters past, *Joshua* and the better sort of their Governours, who saw the wonders which God had wrought for the good of that people, had no sooner ended their days, but first one Tribe, than another; in the end all delighted in ease; fearful to hazard themselves in following the conduct of God, weary of passing so many strait and narrow gates, condescended to ignominious conditions of peace, joyned hands with Infidels, forsook him which had been always the Rock of their Salvation, and so had none to open unto them, although their occasions of knocking were great afterward, more and greater than before. Concerning *Issachar*; the words of *Jacob*, the Father of all the Patriarchs, were these; *Issachar*, though bonny and strong enough unto any labour, doth couch notwithstanding as an Ass under all burthens; he shall think with himself that rest is good, and the Land plea-

pleasant, he shall in these considerations rather endure the burthen and yoke of tribute, than cast himself into hazard of war, *Gen. 49*. We are for the most part all of *Issachar's* disposition, we account ease cheap, howsoever we buy it. And although we can happily frame our selves sometimes to ask, or endure for a while to seek; yet loth we are to follow a course of life, which shall too often hem us about with those perplexities, the dangers whereof are manifestly great.

But of the Duties here prescribed of asking, seeking, knocking, thus much may suffice. The Promises follow which God hath made.

2. *Ask and receive, seek and find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.* Promises are made of good things to come; and such, while they are in expectation, have a kind of painfulness with them; but when the time of performance and of present fruition cometh, it bringeth joy.

*Abraham* did somewhat rejoyce

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in that which he saw would come, although knowing that many Ages & Generations must first pass: Their exultation far greater, who beheld with their eyes, and imbraced in their arms him which had been before the hope of the whole world. We have found that Messias, have seen the salvation; *Behold here the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.* These are speeches of men not comforted with the hope of that they desire, but rap'd with admiration at the view of enjoyed blifs.

As oft therefore as our case is the same with the Prophet *Dauids*; or that experience of God's abundant mercy towards us doth wrest from our mouths the same acknowledgments which it did from his, *I called on the Name of the Lord, and he hath rescued his servant: I was in misery and he saved me: Thou Lord hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling: I have ask'd and received, sought and found, knock'd and it hath been opened*

opened unto me : Can there less be expected at our hands, than to take the Cup of Salvation, and bless, magnifie, and extoll the mercies heaped upon the heads of the sons of men? *Pf. 116.* Are we in the case of them, who as yet do only ask and have not received? It is but attendance a small time, we shall rejoyce then; but how? we shall find, but where? it shall be opened, but with what hand? To all which demands I must

*Answer,* Use the words of our Saviour Christ, *quid hoc ad te*, what are these things unto us? Is it for us to be made acquainted with the way he hath to bring his counsel & purposes about? God will not have great things brought to pass, either altogether without means, or by those means altogether which are to our seeming probable and likely. Not without means, lest under colour of repose in God we should nourish at any time in in our selves idleness: not by the meer hability of means gathered together through our own providence, lest

prevailing by helps which the common course of nature yieldeth, we should offer the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for whatsoever prey we take to the Nets which our fingers did weave; than which there cannot be to him more intolerable injury offered. *Vere & absque dubio*, saith St. Bernard, *hoc quisque est pessimus quo optimus, si hoc ipsum quo est optimus ascribat sibi*; the more blest, the more curst, if we make his graces our own glory, without imputation of all to him; whatsoever we have we steal, and the multiplication of Gods favours doth but aggravate the crime of our Sacrilege: He knowing how prone we are to unthankfulness in this kind, tempereth accordingly the means, whereby it is his pleasure to do us good. This is the reason, why God would neither have *Gideon* to conquer without any Army, nor yet to be furnish'd with too great an host. This is the cause why, as none of the promises of God do fail, so the most are in such sort brought to pass, that

that, if we after consider the circuit, wherein the steps of his Providence have gone, the due consideration thereof cannot choose but draw from us the very self same words of astonishment, which the blessed Apostle hath; *O the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God! how unsearchable are his counsels, and his ways past finding out!* Let it therefore content us always to have his word for an absolute warrant; we shall receive and find in the end; it shall at length be opened unto you: however, or by what means, leave it to God.

3. Now our Lord groundeth every mans particular assurance touching this point upon the general Rule and Axiom of his Providence, which hath ordained these effects to flow and issue out of these causes; gifts of suits, finding out of seeking, help out of knocking; a principle so generally true, that on his part it never faileth.

For why? it is the glory of God to give; his very nature delighteth in it; his mercies in the current, through

through which they would pass, may be dried up, but at the head they never fail. Men are soon weary both of granting and of hearing suits, because our own insufficiency maketh us still affraid, lest by benefiting of others we impoverish our selves. We read of large and great proffers, which Princes in their fond and vainglorious moods have poured forth: as that of *Herod*; and the like of *Abasue-  
rus* in the Book of *Hester*. *Ask what thou wilt, though it reach to the half of my Kingdom, I will give it thee*: which very words of profusion do argue, that the ocean of no estate in this world doth so flow, but it may be emptied. He that promiseth half of his Kingdom, foreseeth how that being gone, the remainder is but a moiety of that which was. What we give we leave; but what God bestoweth benefiteth us, and from him it taketh nothing: wherefore in his propositions there are no such fearful restraints; his terms are general in regard of making, *Whatsoever ye  
ask*

*ask the Father in my Name* ; and general also in respect of persons, *whosoever asketh, whosoever seeketh*. It is true, St. James saith, *Ye ask, and yet ye receive not, because you ask amiss* ; ye crave to the end ye might have to spend upon your own lusts. The rich man sought Heaven, but it was then, when he felt Hell. The Virgins knocked in vain, because they overslipped their opportunity ; and when the time was to knock, they slept : But *querite Dominum dum inveniri potest*, perform these duties in their due time and due sort. Let there, on our part, be no stop, and the bounty of God we know is such, that he granteth over and above our desires. *Saul* sought an As, and found a Kingdom. *Solomon* named wisdom, and God gave *Solomon* wealth also, by way of surpassing. *Thou hast prevented thy servant with blessings*, saith the Prophet *David*. *He asked life, and thou gavest him long life, even for ever and ever*. God a giver ; He giveth liberally,

*berally, and upbraideth none in any  
wise : And therefore he better know-  
eth than we the best times, and the  
best means, and the best things,  
wherein the good of our Souls con-  
sisteth.*

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FINIS.

